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THE  
MODERN TRAVELLER.

*VOLUME THE TWENTY-SECOND.*

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A F R I C A.

VOL. III.



THE  
MODERN TRAVELLER.

A  
DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE  
VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

*IN THIRTY VOLUMES.*

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-SECOND.

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# THE MODERN TRAVELLER,

8c. 8c.

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## AFRICA.

### BOUSSA.

THE city of Boussa is situated on an island formed by the Quorra, in lat.  $10^{\circ} 14' N.$ , long.  $6^{\circ} 11' E.$  The course of the river here is from N.N.W. to S.S.E. It is full of islands and rocks. Boussa stands nearest the westernmost branch, the Menai, which is about twenty yards in breadth, and runs with a slow and sluggish current. The other two branches, which have no other name than the Quorra, flow with a strong current, with eddies and whirlpools breaking over the rocks. The place pointed out to Captain Clapperton as the spot where Mr. Park perished, is in the eastern channel. A low, flat island, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Boussa and the fatal spot, which is in a line, from the Sultan's house, with a double-trunked tree with white bark, standing singly on the low, flat island. The bank was now only ten feet above the level of the stream, which here breaks over a grey slate rock extending quite across to the eastern shore: this shore rises into gentle hills of grey slate, thinly scattered with trees.\*

\* The following statement of the circumstances attending the lamented fate of that enterprising Traveller, was subsequently

“Boussa Island,” on which the city is built, extends about three miles from N. to S., and a mile and a half

given to Captain Clapperton at Koolfu by an eye-witness; and together with all the information he could collect, it tallies with the story, disbelieved at the time, which Isaaco brought back from Amadi Fatooma. “He said, that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time that the Fellatas first rose in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the Sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advanced guard of the Fellata army then ravaging Soudan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffé and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming among them; that the number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men and two blacks; that they found great treasure in the boat; but that the people had all died who ate of the meat that was found in her.” This meat, according to another native informant, was believed, on that account, to be human flesh, for they knew, it was added, that we white men eat human flesh. The Sultan of Boussa, who was “a little boy when the event happened,” shewed uneasiness when inquiries were made upon the subject; as did all his people, although, upon every other, they were as frank and communicative as they were kind and hospitable. Lander afterwards received the following additional information from a *mallam* or priest, whom he met with at Wawa, and who tendered it spontaneously. “The Sultan of Youri advised your countrymen to proceed the remainder of the way on land, as the passage by water was rendered dangerous by numerous sunken rocks in the Niger, and a cruel race of people inhabiting the towns on its banks. They refused, however, to accede to this, observing, that they were bound to proceed down the Niger to the Salt Water. The old *mallam* further observed, that, ‘as soon as the Sultan of Youri heard of their death, he was much affected; but it was out of his power to punish the people who had driven them into the water. A pestilence reaching Boussa at the time, swept off the king and most of the inhabitants, particularly those who were concerned in the transaction. The remainder,



in breadth. A ridge of slate rock runs from one end to the other, forming a precipice from twenty to thirty feet high on the eastern side, and shelving down gently to the west. Below this precipice, a beautiful meadow extends nearly the whole length of the island, to the banks of the river, where are several rocky mounds, on which four villages are built. The wall of Boussa, which is about a quarter of a mile from the Menai, unites with the two extremities of the rocky precipice, where they fall in with the banks of the river, and is nearly a mile in length. The houses are built in clusters of huts, not occupying above a tenth of the walled area. Outside the walls there are also several villages, with plantations of corn, yams, and cotton ; but the whole number of inhabitants is estimated at less than 12,000.

The State of Boussa was reported to be more populous, however, than all the other provinces of Borgoo ; and its sultan can raise more cavalry from that state alone, than any other prince between Houssa and the sea. The inhabitants, with a few exceptions, are Pagans ; as is the Sultan, although his name is Mohamed, and he claimed to be descended from the Sultans of Bornou ; to whom, until of late years, all the sultans of Borgoo, as well as the kings of Youri and Youriba, paid tribute. The language of Boussa is the same as that of the other states of Borgoo, which appears to be a dialect of the Youriba, but the Houssa is understood by all classes, even by the Cambrie. These latter are a lazy, harmless race of negroes, tall in

fancying it was a judgement of the white man's God, placed every thing belonging to the Christians in a hut, and set it on fire.' It is not a little remarkable, that it is now a common saying, all through the interior of Africa, 'Do not hurt a Christian, for if you do, you will die like the people of Boussa.'—Clapperton, pp. 134, 5; 100; 316, 17.

stature, "more stupid-looking than wild," who inhabit the villages in the woods near the Quorra, in Boussa, Wawa, and Youri. They plant a little corn and yams, and keep a few sheep and goats. The men employ themselves in hunting, fishing, and sleeping, the most laborious work devolving on the women. Their clothing is seldom more than a skin round the waist. From their mild and unwarlike dispositions, they are often ill used and imposed upon, their children being seized as unceremoniously as their flocks. Their language differs from that of the surrounding inhabitants. Captain Clapperton saw a rude temple in one of their villages,—a platform raised about five feet from the ground, on which were piled the heads of the hippopotamus and the alligator.

The Kingdom of Borgoo, (as Captain Clapperton styles it, with doubtful propriety,) comprehending the four petty states of Boussa, Niki, Wawa, and Kiama, is bounded on the E. by the Quorra; on the S. by Youriba; on the W. by Dahomey; and on the N. by Gourma. It extends eleven days' journey from N. to S., and thirty from E. to W. Its rivers are the Quorra, the Moussa, and the Oli.\* Its mountains belong to the range which passes through Youriba, Youri, Zamfra, Guari, and Zegzeg. Of the four states, Boussa is considered as the head; and in the event of a civil war between the other states, the Sultan of Boussa is said to interfere, and to make both parties pay. Notwithstanding the bad character given to them by the Arabs and their other neighbours, Captain Clapperton had no reason to complain of them on any ground. He never lost the smallest article while among them.

\* This stream, which rises in Niki, and falls into the Quorra above Rakah, was crossed at a ferry between Kiama and Wawa.

“ I have travelled and hunted alone with them,” he says, “ and myself, servants, and baggage have been at their mercy. I ever found them cheerful, obliging, good natured, and communicative.” Many of the misdemeanours charged upon the people of Borgoo, are really perpetrated by natives of Houssa, parties of whom infest the roads of the neighbouring kingdoms. The religion of Borgoo is paganism, but no human sacrifices are offered.

On leaving Boussa, Captain Clapperton retraced his steps to the Cambrie villages, and then turned S.S.W., to another of their villages, named Songa, situated on the banks of the Quorra. The river here flows in an undivided stream, not above three-fourths the breadth of the Thames at Somerset-House at high-water, with a current of about two knots and a half, the colour of the water red and muddy. The banks are high, rising to the height of forty-five or fifty feet. About two hours above Songa, there is a formidable cataract, where, Captain Clapperton remarks, if Park had passed Boussa in safety, he would have been in danger of perishing, “ unheard and unseen.” The river at this spot, after rushing round two low rocky and wooded islands, and among several islets and rocks, bends suddenly to the westward, dashing with great violence against the foot of the rocky bank on that side. Just below the islands, and nearly half way across, the river had, when Clapperton saw it, a fall of three or four feet; and the rest of the channel was studded with rocks, some of them above water. An hour and a half below Songa, the Quorra rushes with great force through a “ natural gap” (such it seems) between porphyritic rocks, rising on each side of the channel. Between Songa and this place, this river is full of rocky islets and rapids; and these occur occasionally all the way

down to *Wonjerque*, or the King's ferry, at the village of Comie, where it is all in one stream about a quarter of a mile in width, and ten or twelve feet deep in the middle. This is the great ferry of all the caravans to and from Nyffee, Houssa, &c., and is only a few hours from Wawa. Captain Clapperton was told, that the Quorra continues to be beset with rocks and islets nearly the whole way to Fundah, at which place it was said to enter the sea,—that is, some great river or body of water; and according to all accounts, there must be some great lake or confluence near that place.

Our Traveller was now on the high road to Koolfu, the emporium of Nyffee. In the course of the first two stages, he came to two villages full of blacksmiths' shops, with several forges in each. They get their iron ore from the hills, which they smelt where they dig it. In every village, he saw a fetish-house in good repair, adorned with painted figures of human beings, as also the boa, the alligator, and the tortoise. The country is well cultivated with corn, yams, and cotton; but the ant-hills were the highest Captain Clapperton had ever seen, being from fifteen to twenty feet high, and resembling, he says, "so many Gothic cathedrals in miniature." In the afternoon of the third day, he crossed a stream called the *May-yarrow*, opposite the town of Tabra, by a long, narrow wooden bridge of rough branches covered with earth,—the first he had seen in Africa: it will not, however, bear a man and horse, nor can two horses pass at once. Tabra, which is divided by the river into two quarters, was at this time the residence of the queen-mother of Nyffee, who was governor *ad interim*, during the absence of her son. It may contain from 18 to 20,000 inhabitants, who, with a few exceptions, are pagans; and they all, men and women, have the reputation of being great drunkards.



There are only a few blacksmiths here, but a great number of weavers. The Houssa caravans pass close to the north side of the town, but seldom enter it. Before the civil war began, the Benin people came here to trade. The war, which was still raging, originated in a dispute for the succession, between Mohamed El Magia (the son of the queen-mother), who was a Moslem, and Edrisi, who was represented to be a pagan. The former was supported by the Fellatahs, whom the people of Nyffee cannot endure: the other had the best right and the people on his side, but there was little doubt of his being obliged to succumb. Captain Clapperton subsequently repaired to the camp, to pay his respects to El Magia. He was found mounted on a good bay horse, the saddle ornamented with pieces of silver and brass; the breast-plate with large silver plates hanging down from it, like what is represented in the prints of Roman and Eastern Emperors on horseback. He is described as a tall man, with a stupid expression of countenance, a large mouth, and snagged teeth, which shewed horribly when he attempted a smile. His dress consisted of a black velvet cap with flaps over the ears, and trimmed with red silk; a blue and white striped *tobe*; and ragged red boots, part leather and part cloth: in his hand, he bore a black staff with a silver head, and a coast-made umbrella and sword were carried by his slaves. Altogether, his appearance was far from being either kingly or soldier-like; and he displayed the most mean degree of rapacity. "He has been," adds Captain Clapperton, "the ruin of his country by his unnatural ambition, and by calling in the Fellatahs, who will remove him out of the way the moment he is of no more use to them. Even now, he dares not move without their permission. He is said to have

put to death his brother and two of his sons. Through him, the greater part of the industrious population of Nyffee have either been killed, sold as slaves, or fled from their native country. To remove him now, would be charity."

The *Sanson* (camp) was a large collection of beehive-shaped huts, thatched with straw. But for the number of horses feeding and some picketed near the huts, the men being all seen armed, and the drums beating, it might have been taken for a populous and peaceful village. "Here were to be seen, weavers, tailors, women spinning cotton, others reeling it off; some selling *foo-foo* and *accassons*, others crying yams and paste; little markets at every green tree, holy men counting their beads, and dissolute slaves drinking *roa-bum* (palm wine)." The king, when our Traveller went to take leave of him, was found in his hut, surrounded by Fellatahs, one of whom was reading the Koran aloud for the benefit of the whole, the meaning of which not one of them understood, not even the reader. It is very common, we are told, both in Bornou and Houssa, for a man to be able to read the Koran fluently, who does not understand a word in it but *Allah*, and who is unable to read any other book.

On the 2d of May, Captain Clapperton left Tabra, and travelling along the banks of the May-yarrow, crossed a stream running into it from the north, and soon after entered the great market-town of Koolfu. Here he took up his abode with the widow Laddie, huge, fat, and deaf, and reputed very rich; a dealer in salt, natron, *et cætera*, but more particularly famous for her *booza* \* and *roa-bum*. Every night, a large

\* The *booza* is made from a mixture of *dourra*, honey, Chili pepper, the root of a coarse grass on which the cattle feed, and a

outer hut was filled with the toppers of Koolfu, who keep it up generally till dawn with music and drink. Their music consists of the *erbab* or Arab guitar, the drum, the Nyffee harp, and the voice. Their songs are mostly extempore, and allude to the company present.

On the night of our Traveller's arrival, the new moon was seen, which put an end to the fast of Ramadan. It was welcomed by both Moslem and Kaffirs with a cry of joy; and the next day, the town exhibited a scene of general festivity. "Every one was dressed in his best, paying and receiving visits, giving and receiving presents, parading the streets with horns, guitars, and flutes; while groupes of men and women were seen seated under the shade at their doors, or under trees, drinking *roa-bum* or *booza*. The women were dressed and painted to the height of Nyffé perfection; and the young and modest, on this day, would come up and salute the men as if old acquaintances, and bid them joy on the day; with the wool on their heads dressed, plaited, and dyed with indigo; their eyebrows painted with indigo, the eyelashes with khol, the lips stained yellow, the teeth red, and their feet and hands stained with henna; their finest and gayest clothes on; all their finest beads on their necks; their arms and legs adorned with bracelets of glass, brass and silver, their fingers with rings of brass, pewter, silver, and copper; some had Spanish dollars soldered on the back of the rings. They, too, drank of the *booza* and *roa-bum* as freely as the men, joining in their songs, whether good or bad.

proportion of water; these are allowed to ferment, in large earthen jars, placed near a slow fire for four or five days, when the *booza* is drawn off into other jars, and is fit to drink. It is very fiery and intoxicating, but is drunk freely by both Moslem and Pagans.

In the afternoon, parties of men were seen dancing ; free men and slaves all were alike ; not a clouded brow was to be seen in Koolfu. But at nine in the evening, the scene was changed from joy and gladness to terror and dismay ; a tornado had just begun, and the hum of voices and the din of people putting their things under cover from the approaching storm, had ceased at once. All was silent as death, except the thunder and the wind. The cloudy sky appeared as if on fire ; each cloud rolling towards us as a sea of flame, and only surpassed in grandeur and brightness by the forked lightning, which constantly seemed to ascend and descend from what was now evidently the town of Bali on fire, only a short distance outside the walls of Koolfu. When this was extinguished, a new scene began, if possible worse than the first. The wind had increased to a hurricane ; houses were blown down, roofs of houses going along with the wind like chaff, the shady trees in the town bending and breaking ; and, in the intervals between the roaring of the thunder, nothing was heard but the war-cry of the men and the screams of women and children, as no one knew but that an enemy was at hand, and that we should every instant share in the fate of Bali. At last, the rain fell. The fire at Bali had ceased by its being wholly burned down. And all was quiet."

Koulfu (or Koolfie) stands on the northern bank of the May-yarrow, and contains from 12 to 15,000 inhabitants, including slaves. It is built in the form of an oblong square, surrounded with a clay wall about twenty feet high, with four gates. There are a great number of dyers, tailors, blacksmiths, and weavers ; but all these, together with the rest of the town's folk, are engaged in traffic. There are, besides the daily market, general markets every Monday and Saturday, which are resorted to by traders from all



quarters,—Youriba, Borgoo, Soccatoo, Houssa, Nyffé, and Benin. The caravans from Bornou and Houssa, which halt here a considerable time,\* bring horses, natron, unwrought silk, silk cords, beads; Maltese swords from Bengazi, remounted at Kano; clothes made up in the Moorish fashion; Italian looking-glasses, such as sell for one penny and upwards at Malta; *tobes* undyed, made in Bornou; *kohol* for the eye-lids; a small quantity of attar of roses, much adulterated; gums from Mecca; silks from Egypt; Moorish caps; and slaves. “The caravans from Cubbi, Youri, and Zamfra, bring principally slaves and salt, which they exchange for natron, goora-nuts, beads, horses, and *tobes* dyed of a dark blue and having a glossy and coppery tinge. The slaves intended for sale, are confined in the house mostly in irons, and are seldom allowed to go out of it, except to the well or river every morning to wash. They are strictly guarded on a journey, and chained neck to neck, or else tied neck to neck in a long rope of raw hide; and carry loads on their heads, consisting of their masters’ goods or household stuff: these loads are generally from fifty to sixty pounds weight. A stranger may remain a long time in a town without seeing any of the slaves, except by accident, or by making particular inquiry.”

The articles brought from the west by the small traders, (nine out of ten of whom are women, who carry their goods on their heads in packages from sixty to a hundred pounds in weight,) are principally salt, peppers, red wood from Benin, (used in the form

\* The Bornou caravans never go any further than this place, though some of the merchants go on with those of Houssa to Agolly in Youriba; and Gonja in Borgoo, whence they bring goara-nuts, woollens, printed cottons, brass and pewter dishes, earthenware, a few muskets, and a little gold.

of a paste for ointment,) loin-cloths, and a small quantity of calico and red cloth of European manufacture : for these they take back, Venetian beads, natron, and unwrought silk, the latter two being esteemed as good as cowries. These female pedlars take up their abode in the town, and attend the markets daily, employing their spare time in spinning cotton; and supporting themselves by this kind of labour.\* They attend all the markets at the different towns between this and their homes, buying and selling as they go along. The duties which the traders pay here, are collected by the people of Tabra, who take twenty cowries from every loaded person, forty for an ass, and fifty for a loaded bullock.

The majority of the inhabitants of Koolfu, are professedly Mohammedans : the rest are Pagans, who, once a year, in common with the other people of Nyffee, repair to a high hill in one of the southern provinces, on which they sacrifice a black bull, a black sheep, and a black dog. On their fetish-houses are sculptured, as in Youriba, the lizard, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the boa, with sometimes human figures. Their language is a dialect of the Youribane, but the Houssa is that of the market. "They are civil, but the truth is not in them; and to be detected in a lie, is not the smallest disgrace; it only causes a laugh. The men drink very hard, even the Mohammedans; and the women are generally of easy virtue." Although they succeeded in cheating our Traveller, he was not, however, robbed of a single article, and he was uniformly treated with perfect respect. The people seem, indeed, by no means devoid of kindness

\* There were no fewer than twenty-one of these "mercantile women" from Youriba and Borgoo, lodging at one time with the Captain's landlady.

of disposition ; \* and “when it is considered,” adds Captain Clapperton, “that they have twice been burned out of the town by the enemy within the last six years, and that they have had a civil war desolating the country for the last seven years, and been subject to the inroads of the Fellatahs for the last twenty years, and have neither established law nor government, I am surprised that they are as good as they are.”

The following is the manner in which the good people of Koolfu fill up the twenty-four hours. “At day-light, the whole household rise. The women begin to clean the house ; the men to wash from head to foot. The women and children are then washed in water in which has been boiled the leaf of a bush called *bambarnia*. When this is done, breakfast of cocoa is served out, every one having their separate dish, the women and children eating together. After breakfast, the women and children rub themselves over with the pounded red wood and a little grease, which lightens the darkness of the black skin. A score or patch of the red powder is put on some place where it will show to the best advantage. The eyes are blacked with khol. The mistress and the better-looking females stain their teeth and the inside of the lips of a yellow colour with gora, the flower of the tobacco-plant, and the bark of a root : the outer part

\* “When the town of Bali was burned down, every person sent, next day, what they could spare of their goods, to assist the unfortunate inhabitants.” To their domestic slaves, they behave with the greatest humanity, looking upon them almost as children of the family. The males are often freed, and the females given in marriage to freemen or to other domestic slaves. “The food of the slave and the free is nearly the same. The greatest man or woman in the country, is not ashamed at times to let the slaves eat of the same dish, but a woman is never allowed to eat with a man.”

of the lips, hair, and eye-brows are stained with *shuni*, or prepared indigo. Then the women who attend the market, prepare their wares for sale, and when ready, go. The elderly women prepare, clean, and spin cotton at home, and cook the victuals; the younger females are generally sent round the town, selling the small rice balls, fried beans, &c., and bringing back a supply of water for the day. The master of the house generally takes a walk to the market, or sits in the shade at the door of his house, hearing the news, or speaking of the price of natron or other goods. The weavers are daily employed at their trade; some are sent to cut wood, and bring it to market; others to bring grass for the horses that may belong to the house, or to take to the market to sell; numbers, at the beginning of the rainy season, are employed in clearing the ground for sowing the maize and millet; some are sent on distant journeys to buy and sell for their master or mistress, and they very rarely betray their trust. About noon, they return home, when all have a mess of the pudding called *waki*, or boiled beans. About two or three in the afternoon, they return to their different employments, on which they remain until near sunset, when they count their gains to their master or mistress, who receives it, and puts it carefully away in their strong room. They then have a meal of pudding and a little fat or stew. The mistress of the house, when she goes to rest, has her feet put into a cold poultice of the pounded henna-leaves. The young then go to dance and play, if it is moonlight, and the old to lounge and converse in the open square of the house, or in the outer *cooxie*, where they remain until the cool of the night, or till the approach of morning drives them into shelter.”\*

\* Clapperton, pp. 140, 1.



The country round Koolfu is a level plain, well cultivated, and studded with little walled towns and villages along the banks of the May-yarrow, and of a little river running into it from the north. Between the walled towns of Bullabulla and Rajadawa, the route passed through plantations of grain, indigo, and cotton; the soil, clay mixed with sand, with here and there large blocks of sandstone containing nodules of iron and veins of iron-stone. At five days from Koolfu, it entered, at the town of Wazo (or Wazawo), the district of Kotongkora, formerly included in Kashna; and after another five days' journey through a rich and beautiful valley and over woody hills, our Traveller reached Womba, a large walled town, where the caravans both from the east and the west generally halt a day or two, and where, as at Wazo, a toll is levied on merchandise. This town is in latitude  $10^{\circ} 35'$ , longitude  $7^{\circ} 22'$ . It stands on rising ground, at the eastern head of a valley watered by a small stream, having three bare, rocky hills of granite to the north, east, and south. The inhabitants may amount to between 10 and 12,000 souls. Kotongkora, from which the district takes its name, is thirty miles distant northward. On the second day from Womba, our Traveller passed through another large and populous town, called Akinjie, where also *kafilas* pay toll; beyond which, the route lay for two days over a very hilly country, for the most part covered with wood, and but little cultivated till he approached Guari.

This town, the capital of a district of the same name, formerly included in Kashna, stands in latitude  $10^{\circ} 54'$ , longitude  $8^{\circ} 1' E$ . It is built partly on a hill, and partly in a narrow valley, through which a muddy stream runs, that is dry in summer: this stream, the source of which is only a day's journey distant, divides

in one part the states of Kotongkora and Guari, and falls into the Kodonia in Nyffee. The district of Guari was conquered by the Fellatahs, in a short time after their rising, together with the rest of Houssa. On the death of "old Bello," the father of the present sovereign, these districts, with the greater part of Kashna, joined in the *towia* or confederacy against the Fellatahs.\* The chief of Zamfra was the first to shake the spear of rebellion; and he was soon joined by the natives of Goober and the northern parts of Kashna, by Guari and Kotongkora, and at length by the states of Youri, Cubbi, Doura, and the southern parts of Zegzeg. The strength of Guari is said to lie in the bravery of its inhabitants and the number of horse they can bring into the field,—amounting to a thousand; but Captain Clapperton is disposed to place their real strength in the hilly and woody nature of their country.

Fatika, the frontier town of Zegzeg, was reached on the second day from Guari; and at Zaria, which he entered on the fourth day, Capt. Clapperton found himself in a city almost wholly peopled by Fellatahs, who have mosques with minarets, and live in flat-roofed houses. The population is said to exceed that of Kano, and, if so, must be above 50,000 souls. A great number of the inhabitants are from Foota Bonda and Foota Torra, the Foulahs and the Fellatahs being, in fact, the same people. These people from the west professed to be well acquainted with both the English and the French, and they "rattled over the names of the towns between Sierra Leone and the Senegal and Timbuctoo." They were armed with French fusees, preferring

\* The *Mulouk e Towdeif* of the Arabian annals, presents an instance of a similar confederacy of petty tribes under a state of society not very different.—See MOD. TRAV., Arabia, p. 31.

the guns of the French and the powder of the English.

The old city of Zaria was taken by the Fellatahs within a month after they had made themselves masters of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, about thirty years ago. It stood a siege of two days, when it was evacuated by the sultan and the greater part of the inhabitants, who took refuge in the hills to the south and west, where they still maintain their independence, though subject to the continual attacks of the Fellatahs. The old city is now known only by its ruined walls, surrounding some high mounts which were in the centre of the enclosed area. The new city, built by the Fellatahs to the S.E. of the old, consists of a number of little villages and detached houses scattered over an extensive area, surrounded with high clay walls. It stands in lat.  $10^{\circ} 59'$  N., long.  $8^{\circ} 42'$  E. Near the centre of the wall stands the principal mosque, built of clay, with a minaret nearly fifty feet high. On entering one of the western gates, instead of finding houses, our Traveller could but just see the tops of some over the growing grain, at about a quarter of a mile distance; all was walled fields, full of *dhourra*, with here and there a horse tethered in the open space.

The province of Zegzeg is the most extensive in the kingdom of Houssa, and both Kashna and Kano were at one time tributary to its sovereigns.\* It is

\* The country of Haussa, according to the MS. account of Takroor, already referred to, consists of seven provinces, to each of which a prince (or governor) was appointed under the Fellatahs; and the inhabitants of the whole speak one language. "The central province is Kashnah; the most extensive is Zag-Zag; the most warlike is Ghoober; and the most fertile is Kanoo."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 449. The three others are called Dor (or Dowry),

bounded by Kano to the E. ; Yacoba to the S.E. ; a mountainous tract inhabited by Pagans to the south ; Nyffee to the S.W. ; and Guari and Kashna to the N. and W. The name of the country appears to be also given to the capital, and is possibly derived from it.\* Prior to the Fellatah conquest, Islamism is said to have been unknown in Zegzeg ; and the southern part is still in the possession of various Pagan tribes, whose country is called *Bowsher* or *Boushi*, that is, the infidel country, and is said to extend to the ocean.†

The country in the vicinity of the capital (Zaria); is clear of wood, and is all either in pasture or under cultivation. Its appearance at this season resembled some of the finest country in England, at the latter end of April : “all was green and beautiful.” After passing several towns at the distance of short stages, our Traveller, on the fourth day from Zaria, entered, at the town of Dunchow, the province of Kano. A highly cultivated and populous country extends from

Ranoo, and Yareem. The last-mentioned is, probably, the Guari of Clapperton. Doura is mentioned by this Traveller in immediate connection with the southern part of Zegzeg, as if bordering upon it; and Ranoo may be another name for Kotongkora. Youri, though nearly surrounded by the states of Houssa, is not included in that country.—Clapperton, p. 155.

\* Lander mentions Zaria, only by the name of Zegzeg.

† Among the provinces of Bow-sheer, formerly included in the kingdom of Zegzeg, the MS. account enumerates ; 1. *Ghoo-wary*, inhabited by seven soodan (negro) tribes. 2. *Ghoondar*. 3. *Rcer-wa*, which contains a lead-mine. 4. *Yass*. 5. *Kodoor*. 6. *Kotoo*. 7. *Addam*. 8. Another district called *Kotoo*, containing mines of copper and alum. 9. *Kornorfa*, embracing about twenty districts under one king, who often sallied forth upon Kanoo and Barnoo ; and containing mines of gold, antimony, and salt. 10. *Atagdra* or *Ataghér*, “one of the most extensive in the territory of Zag-Zag ; and near it, there is an anchorage for the ships of the Christians.”—Denham, vol. ii. p. 451.



this place to Baebaejie, the next stage. This town, situated in lat.  $11^{\circ} 34' N.$ , long.  $9^{\circ} 13' E.$ , stands in an extensive plain, stretching towards the north till lost in the horizon. The two mounts inside the walls of Kano are just distinguishable above the horizontal line, bearing N.E. by N. The hills of Nora are seen about ten miles east; to the south are the mountains of Surem, distant about 25 miles; while westward appear the tops of the hills of Aushin in Zegzeg, over which the route had passed. Small towns and villages are scattered over the plain, and herds of fine white cattle were seen grazing on the fallow-ground. The inhabitants of Baebaejie, amounting to 20 or 25,000, are chiefly refugees from Bornou and Waday, and their descendants, all engaged in trade; and they appeared cleanly, civil, and industrious. A broad and good road, thronged with passengers and loaded animals led, in another day's journey, to Kano.

#### FROM KANO TO DUNRORA.

HALF an hour short of Baebaejie, the Nyffee road falls into that from Funda, which was taken by Richard Lander on his return route, in the hope of being able to penetrate to the Niger, and to reach Benin by water. Striking off to the eastward of the route by which his master had reached Kano, he passed several walled towns, all inhabited by natives of Houssa, tributary to the Fellatahs; and early on the third day from Bebjie (as he spells it), arrived at the foot of a high, craggy mountain, called *Almena*, from a ruined town said to have been built by a queen of the Fantee nation some five hundred years ago.\* The gigantic blocks of granite, fearfully piled

\* Mahomet, Lander's servant, who had travelled far and near, and knew all the traditions of the country, gave the following

on each other, and seeming ready to fall, are described as resembling the rocks near the Logan stone in Cornwall, but on a scale infinitely larger. To the eastward, a range of high hills was seen stretching from north to south, as far as the eye could reach; and Lander was told, that they extend to the salt water. They were said to be inhabited by a ferocious race of *yamyams* (cannibals), who had formerly carried on an extensive traffic with the Houssa men, bringing elephants' teeth, and taking in exchange red cloth, beads, &c.; but, five years before, they had murdered a whole *kafila* of merchants, and had afterwards eaten them; since which time the Houssa folk had been reasonably shy of dealing with them.\*

story: "About 500 years ago, a queen of the Fantee nation, having quarrelled with her husband about a golden stool," (in other words, we presume, about the throne,—probably after her husband's death,) "fled from her dominions with a great number of her subjects, and built a large town at the foot of this mountain, which she called *Almena*, from which it took its name." The town, Lander adds, was surrounded with a stone wall, as the ruins plainly attest. The MS. account of Takroor evidently alludes to the same personage. "The first who ruled over them," (the seven provinces of Houssa,) "was, as it is stated, *Amenah*, daughter of the Prince of Zag-Zag. She conquered them by the force of her sword, and subjected them, including Kashnah and Kanoo, to be her tributaries. She fought and took possession of the country of Bowsher, till she reached the coast of the ocean on the right hand and west side. She died at Atágára."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 450.

• Sultan Bello asserted to Clapperton, that he had ocular proof of the fact, that these same people are in the practice of eating human flesh. "The Sultan said, that, on the governor of Jacoba telling him of these people, he could hardly believe it; but, on a Tuarick being hanged for theft, he saw five of these people eat a part, with which he was so disgusted, that he sent them back to Jacoba soon after. He said, that whenever a person complained of sickness among these men, even though only a slight head-ache, he is killed instantly, for fear he should be lost by death, as they will not eat a person that has died by sickness; that the [person falling sick] is requested by some other family, and repaid when

Thus far, all the streams that were crossed, have a north-westerly course; and on the fifth day, Lander reached a large river running in the same direction, called Accra. The next day, proceeding S.W., he arrived at Nammaleek, built immediately under a mountain, which, rising almost perpendicularly, forms a natural wall on the north-eastern side. It is thickly wooded, and abounds with thousands of hyenas, tiger-cats, jackals, and monkeys, who monopolize all the animal food in the neighbourhood: "the poor inhabitants cannot keep a single bullock, sheep, or goat." For four hours beyond this town, Lander's route continued along the foot of this range of mountains, in a direction still S.W.; it then turned eastward through an opening in the range, and after crossing one large, and three small rivers, led to Fulindushie, the frontier town of Catica.\* The inhabitants of this place are described as a fine, handsome people, with features not at all resembling those of the negro race, and very similar to the European, but below the negroes in civilization; without any clothing, filthy in person, disgusting in manners, and destitute of natural affection; the parent selling his child with no more remorse or repugnance than he

they had a sick relation; that universally, when they went to war, the dead and wounded were always eaten; that the hearts were claimed by the head men; and that, on asking them why they ate human flesh, they said, it was better than any other; that they had no want of food; and that, excepting this bad custom, they were very cleanly, and otherwise not bad people, except that they were *kaffirs*."—Clapperton, p. 251.

\* Lander speaks of the "Catica or Bowchee" people as the same. This district must therefore belong to the Bow-sheer country, which forms part of Zag-zag, according to the MS. account of Takroor; (see Denham, vol. ii. p. 450;) the same, apparently, as the *Boushy* (i.e. infidel or *kerdy*) country bordering on Yacoba.—See p. 303 of our second volume.

would his chicken ; yet “artless and good-humoured.” Their appearance is extremely barbarous and repulsive. They rub red clay softened with oil over their heads and bodies, and invariably wear a large semi-circular piece of blue glass in the upper and lower lip, with ear-pendants of red wood. They “make fetishes like the natives of Yariba.”

Turning again to the S.W., the route now led over a fine and rich country, to a large river rolling to the N.W.; called Coodoonia (Kodonia), which empties itself into the Quorra near Funda. Lander reached the north-eastern bank on the tenth day ; and on the morrow, after three hours’ travelling, reached Cuttup. Having heard, on his route, many different reports of the wealth, population, and celebrated market of this place, he was surprised at finding it consist of nearly five hundred villages almost joining each other, occupying a vast and beautiful plain, adorned with the finest trees. Among these, the plantain, the palm, and the cocoa-nut tree were seen flourishing in great abundance, and the aspect of the country strikingly resembled some parts of Yariba. A considerable traffic is carried on here in slaves and bullocks, which are alike exposed in the daily market. The bullocks are bred by the Fellatahs, who reside here for no other purpose. Among the other articles brought here for sale, are red cloth, gum, salt, goora-nuts, trona, beads, tobacco, native cloth, rings, needles, cutlery, honey, rice, and milk ; people from the most distant parts resorting hither in vast numbers. The Sultan of Cuttup being a very great man, Lander made him a suitable present of four yards of blue damask, the same quantity of scarlet, a print of his present Majesty, one of the late Duke of York, and some other trifling articles ; in return for which, he



received from the Sultan, a sheep, the humps of two bullocks, and stewed rice sufficient for fifty men. During the four days he remained in these hospitable quarters, he was never in want of provisions. The king invariably receives, as a tax, the hump of every bullock that is slaughtered, (weighing from 12 to 15 pounds, and the choicest part of the animal,) and one or two was sent to the white man, by the king's wives, each day.

On leaving this place, Lander proceeded S.S.W. over a hilly country, and on the next day, crossed the Rary, a large river flowing to the S.E. On the following day, part of the route lay over steep and craggy precipices, some of them of a most awful height. From the summit of the pass, he obtained a very extensive and beautiful prospect, which would indicate the elevation to be indeed very considerable. "Eight days' journey," he says, "might plainly be seen before us. About half a day's journey to the E., stood a lofty hill, at the foot of which lay the large city of Jacoba."\* In the evening, he reached Dunrora, a town containing about 4000 inhabitants.

Lander had now reached the latitude of Funda, which, according to his information, lies about twelve days due W. of Dunrora; and, after seventeen days' perilous travelling from Kano, he seemed to be on the point of solving the geographical problem respecting the termination of the supposed Niger; when, just as he was leaving Dunrora, four armed messengers from the Sultan of Zegzeg rode up to him, bearing orders for his immediate return to the capital. Remonstrance

\* About half a mile from this city, he was told, is a river called Shar or Sharry, which was represented to him (unless the error be Lander's) as flowing *out* of the lake Tchad, and emptying itself into the Niger at Funda.



was in vain ; and with a bad grace and a heavy heart, poor Lander complied with the mandate. He was led back to Cuttup by the same route that he had taken ; and here, much against the inclination of his guards, he remained four days, suffering under an attack of dysentery. The subsequent part of the route was to the W. of his former track. The Koodoonia, where he crossed it, was much deeper, as well as broader and more rapid.\* Four days further, he reached a large river called *Makammee*, “ running southerly : ” the town of the same name is an hour E. of the ferry. After passing several walled towns, he arrived, in three days more, at an extremely neat and large town, called *Eggebee*, built in the centre of a beautiful and highly-cultivated plain. The inhabitants, amounting to 6 or 7000 souls, were all dressed with peculiar neatness ; and the cleanliness they displayed, both in their persons and their huts, reminded our Traveller of his own far-distant country. No town appears to have occurred during the next stage, an eight hours’ journey ; and the halt was made in the midst of a wood. Beyond this, a rich and fertile country, principally laid out in gardens, extends the whole stage to Zaria.

On being presented to the Sultan of Zegzeg, Lander was told, that the only reason for his being brought

\* On Lander’s refusing to cross the river till it had become shallower, his guards left him in great wrath, threatening to report his conduct to their master ; and they did not return for a fortnight ; during which time, Lander remained at a *Bowchee* village an hour distant, very ill, having nothing to eat but boiled corn, not relishing *roasted dog*. The inhabitants, who came by hundreds every day to visit him ; were destitute of any clothing, but “ behaved in a modest and becoming manner.” The men appeared to have no employment or occupation whatever. The women were generally engaged, the greater part of the day, in manufacturing oil from a small black seed and the Guinea nut.

back, was to prevent his falling into the hands of the King of Funda, who, being at war with Sultan Bello, would, probably, it was alleged, have murdered him. Lander supposes, that it was simply in order to gratify the curiosity of the Sultan of Zegzeg and the prince his son, (who were absent when he passed through Zaria, with his master, on their way to Kano,) that he was unfortunately stopped on his journey to Funda. It does not appear, whether he would have been allowed to retrace his steps; but to return by that route, was now out of the question. He accordingly resolved to make the best of his way by the Youriba road. Leaving Zaria on the 24th of July, after various delays, he reached Badagry on the 21st of November,\* and arrived in England in the following April; the sole survivor of those who, three years before, had left the country on this adventurous expedition.—We now resume Captain Clapperton's route.

\* On his return to Badagry, after having escaped all the perils of the journey, Lander had nearly fallen a victim to the vindictive jealousy of the Portuguese slave-merchants, who denounced him to the king as a spy sent by the English Government. The consequence was, that it was resolved by the chief men to subject him to the ordeal of drinking a fetish. "If you come to do bad," they said, "it will kill you; but if not, it cannot hurt you." There was no alternative or escape. Poor Lander swallowed the contents of the bowl, and then walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men who surrounded it, to his own lodgings; where he lost no time in getting rid of the fetish drink by a powerful emetic. He afterwards learned, that it almost always proves fatal. When the king and his chiefs found, after five days, that Lander survived, they changed their minds and became extremely kind, concluding that he was under the special protection of God. The Portuguese, however, he had reason to believe, would have taken the first opportunity to assassinate him.

## FROM KANO TO SOCCATOO.

It was on the 23d of February (1824), that Captain Clapperton, in his first journey, left Kano for Soccatoo. The route soon entered upon a thickly wooded country, traversed by numerous ravines and dry channels, which are filled by the rains, and the roads are then almost impassable. The road is zig-zag, and is repeatedly crossed by dikes or ridges of white quartz, running N. and S. Numerous Fellatah villages were seen, with large herds of very fine horned cattle and flocks of sheep and goats.\* On the 26th, Captain Clapperton halted at a walled town, called Kadania, which was found thinly peopled, the former inhabitants, as in most other captured towns, having been sold by the Fellatahs. On the 28th, he advanced to the town of *Faniroa*, or "White Water." Between Kano and this place, all the torrents are said to run towards the east; but in the next stage, he crossed the dry bed of a large stream which flows towards the west, separating the provinces of Kano and Kashna. After passing Zirmie, the capital of Zamfra, it bends northward, and traverses the province of Ghoober; then, bending again to the west, it washes the city of Soccatoo, and at the distance of four days, enters the Quorra. It is called, in this part, the *Duncamee*, from a town of that name; but, lower down, after receiving several other streams, it assumes that of Quarrama.

\* "The shepherd, with his crook, usually goes before the flock, and leads them to fresh pasture, by merely calling with a loud but slow voice, '*Hot, hot,*' while the sheep keep nibbling as they follow."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 309. This description forcibly recalls the language of the Son of Jesse, in that exquisite pastoral, the twenty-third Psalm. It will illustrate also John x. 4.

On the 1st of March, after travelling through a thickly wooded country, and passing a considerable walled town, called *Geosa*, he came to ridges of granite running towards the N.E., and halted for the night at a populous town called *Ratah*, remarkably situated amid large blocks of granite, which rise out of the earth like towers, and form its only defence on the northern side: some of the houses are perched like bird-cages on the top of the rocks. The next day's route lay through a beautiful and well cultivated country, rendered extremely romantic by ledges of rock and clumps of large trees; and the town of *Bershee*, where he halted, is also situated among large blocks of granite. The day following, the road passed through little valleys, delightfully green, between high ridges of granite; and to add to the beauty of the scenery, there were many clear springs issuing from the rocks, where the young women were employed drawing water. The dry channel of the large river above-mentioned, was crossed four times in three hours. It winds beautifully, with steep and high wooded banks. On the 4th, the same beautiful country continued, interspersed with villages romantically situated among the granite ridges, and having the appearance, in many parts, of an ornamental park in England. The cultivation increased, and the road became crowded with passengers and loaded bullocks, on approaching Zirmie.

This town, the capital of the province of Zamfra, occupies a peninsula formed by the river, which has here very high and steep banks, covered with mimosas and prickly bushes, through which a narrow path winds to the gates. It is surrounded with a clay wall and dry ditch. The governor bears the character of a freebooter, and the inhabitants are reputed the



greatest rogues in all Houssa. Runaway slaves from all parts, flee to Zirmie as an asylum, where they are always welcomed. The inhabitants have, in general, a remarkably independent, reckless look. Some of them are particularly wild and savage in appearance, their only clothing being a tanned sheep-skin round their loins, cut into tassels, and ornamented with cowries; while their woolly hair is cut in parts or shaved, the rest being plaited and formed into crests and circles, or left to hang in shaggy ringlets. Captain Clapperton did not halt here, but passing through an opening in a range of low hills, through which the Quarrama finds a channel, he reached, on the 5th, the town of Quarri or Quarra, situated in latitude  $13^{\circ} 7' 14''$  N. This is a walled town containing between 5 and 6000 inhabitants, chiefly Fellatahs. During the dry season, a number of Tuaricks from Bilma, come here with salt, and lodge in huts outside the walls. It stands on the northern bank of the Quarrama, a mile and a half W. of its junction with a river from the S.W. The banks of the river are planted with onions, melons, cotton, indigo, and some wheat, which are watered, by means of a basket and lever, from holes dug about two feet deep in the sandy channel, in which water is always found in abundance.

In returning from Saccatoo, Captain Clapperton took a different route, proceeding from Zirmie in a direction nearly W., to Kashna, three days distant, situated in latitude  $12^{\circ} 59'$  N. This provincial capital, which is said to have borne the name of *Sangras* about a century ago, derives its present name, Kashna (or Geshna), from the small underwood growing on the ridge on which the town is built, and which is one of the many long ridges of sienite that run from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The walls are of clay, and very



extensive ; but, as at Kano, the houses do not occupy above one-tenth of the space inclosed ; the rest being laid out in fields or covered with wood. The governor's residence resembles a large village, and is about half a mile to the east of all the other buildings. The houses are mostly in ruins, the principal commerce of the country having been transferred to Kano since the Fellatah conquest ; there is, nevertheless, a considerable trade still carried on here, Kashna being a favourite resort of the Tuaricks who frequent Soudan in the dry months. There are two daily markets, one held in the northern, the other in the southern part of the town. The latter is chiefly attended by merchants from Ghadamis and Tuat : the former by Tuaricks. The Ghadamis and Tuat merchants bring unwrought silk, cotton and woollen cloths, beads, and a little cochineal ; which they sell for *cowries*, to be exchanged by their agents at Kano for blue *tobes* and *turkadees*, with which they supply the fair at Ghraat : what is not there disposed of to the Tuaricks, is sent to Timbuctoo. The manufactures of Kashna are chiefly of leather, such as water-skins, red or yellow cushions, bridles of goat-skin, and hides : very good dried beef is also prepared here, with which the Arab merchants usually provide themselves before crossing the desert. The fruits here are figs, melons, pomegranates, and limes. Grapes are said to have been plentiful in former times, but at the Fellatah conquest, the vines were all cut down.\*

The route from Quarra to Soccato, lies for some

\* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 390—392. Captain Clapperton left Kashna on the 17th of May, and passing through a well-cultivated country, in some parts exhibiting the traces of the Fellatah conquest in the ruins of walled towns, reached Duncamee on the 19th, and Kano on the 22nd.

hours over a rich plain, clear of wood, and covered with plantations of indigo, cotton, and millet: a wooded tract succeeds, extending to the river Foulchir (or Fulche), which joins the river of Zirmie half a day's journey to the N. It was now almost dry; the channel, where our Traveller crossed it, only 30 or 40 yards wide. In his second journey, however, (Oct., 1827,) Captain Clapperton crossed it nearer its junction with the Quarri (or Quarrama), where it was upwards of 100 yards in breadth, the ford about 4 feet deep, and flowing with a current about two miles and a half an hour. He afterwards travelled for an hour along its banks, which are low, sandy, and woody. After leaving it, the country became a succession of sandy ridges and swamps, and thick woods of acacias and other mimosas, extending to the Lake Gondamee. This part of the country, on the confines of the provinces of Ghoober and Zamfra, is especially dreaded by *kafilas*; and a place better adapted for "land pirates," is scarcely to be conceived. Kalawawa, the capital of Ghoober, is one day's journey to the southward. To the W. of the lake, the country rises into ridges running N.N.E., over which the road to Soccatoo passes; and on the fourth day from Quarri, Captain Clapperton entered the Fellatah capital.

In his second journey, our Traveller found the Fellatahs encamped on the borders of this lake, which is formed by the rivers Zirmie (or Quarrama) and Zarrie. It is more properly, he says, "a chain of lakes and swamps, extending through the greater part of the plains of Gondamee, almost to Soccatoo. The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful; all the acacia-trees were in blossom, some

with white flowers; others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses; the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude huts of grass or branches of trees, rising as if by magic, every where the calls on the names of Mahomed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses,—gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks. The only regulation that appears in these [rude feudal armies, is, that they take up their ground according to the situation of the provinces, east, west, north, or south; but all are otherwise huddled together, without the least regularity.”

The Sultan was himself encamped, with the forces from Soccatoo, near Coonia, a city of Ghoober, at that time in revolt, whither our Traveller proceeded to join him; and he arrived just in time to be an eye-witness of a specimen of the military tactics and conduct of these much dreaded Fellatahs. Of this curious scene, he gives the following recital.

“ After the midday prayers, all, except the eunuchs, camel-drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack; and soon arrived before the walls of the city. I also accompa-

nied them, and took up my station close to the Gadado. The march had been the most disorderly that can be imagined; horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward; sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another, when swords were half unsheathed, but all ended in making a face, or putting on a threatening aspect. We soon arrived before Coonia, the capital of the rebels of Ghoober, which was not above half a mile in diameter, being nearly circular, and built on the bank of one of the branches of the river, or lakes, which I have mentioned. Each chief, as he came up, took his station, which, I suppose, had previously been assigned to him. The number of fighting men brought before the town, could not, I think, be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the foot amounted to more than nine-tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls, was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets and the shooting of arrows. In front of the Sultan, the Zegzeg troops had one French fusil: the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their pieces, ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellatah had a musket. The enemy kept up a sure and slow fight, seldom throwing away their arrows until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then, a single horseman would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, the rider taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went; generally calling out lustily, when he got among his own party, 'Shields to the wall!' 'You people of the



Gadado, (or Atego, &c.) why do not you hasten to the wall ?' To which some voices would call out, ' Oh ! you have a good large shield to cover you !' The cry of ' Shields to the wall !' was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops ; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length, the men in quilted armour went up ' per order.' They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours reaching over part of the horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse's armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane ; on his forehead, and over his nose, was a brass or tin plate, as also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear ; and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy ; it required two men to lift him on. There were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the Sultan. I at first thought, the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines ; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door ; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He had got two balls through his breast ; one went through his body and both sides of the robe ; the other went through and lodged in the quilted armour opposite the shoulders."

“ The cry of *Allahu akber* (God is great), the war-



cry of the Fellatahs, was resounded through the whole army every quarter of an hour ; but neither this, nor ‘ Shields to the wall,’ nor, ‘ Why do not the Gadado’s people go up ?’ had any effect, except to produce a scuffle among themselves ; when the chiefs would have to ride up and part their followers, who, instead of fighting against the enemy, were more likely to fight with one another.” At sun-set, the besiegers drew off, and the harmless campaign terminated in a desertion on the part of the Zirmie troops, followed by a general retreat.

“ The flags of the Fellatahs are white, like the French, and their staff is a palm-branch. They are not borne by men of honour, but by their slaves. The Sultan had six borne before him ; each of the governors had two. They also dress in white *tobes* and trowsers, as an emblem of their purity in faith and intention.” These feudal forces, however, Captain Clapperton says, are most contemptible, ever more ready to fall out with one another, than to engage with the enemy, and rarely acting in concert. “ The most useful personage in the army, and as brave,” he adds, “ as any of us, was an old female slave of the Sultan’s, a native of Zamfra, five of whose former governors, she said, she had nursed. She was of a dark copper colour, in dress and countenance very like one of Captain Lyon’s female Esquimaux. She was mounted on a long-backed, bright bay horse, with a scraggy tail, cropped, and the mane as if the rats had eaten part of it ; and he was not in high condition. She rode a-straddle ; had on, a conical straw dish-cover for a hat, or to shade her face from the sun, a short dirty white bed-gown, a pair of dirty white loose and wide trowsers, a pair of Housa boots, which are wide, and come up over the knee, fastened with a string round the waist. She

had also a whip and spurs. At her saddle-bow hung about half a dozen gourds, filled with water, and a brass basin to drink out of; and with this she supplied the wounded and the thirsty.”\*

The army being disbanded, Captain Clapperton obtained the Sultan's permission to proceed to Soccatoo, where he found every thing ready for his reception in the house he had occupied on his former visit.

### SOCCATOO.

THIS city, the present capital of the Fellatah dominions, is situated in lat.  $13^{\circ} 4' 52''$  N., long.  $6^{\circ} 12'$  E. It stands on the top of a low hill, near the junction of an inconsiderable stream with the Zirmie river, which crossing the district of Cubbé in a S.W. direction, at the distance of four days' journey, enters the Quorra.† The name signifies a halting-place, the city having been built by the Fellatahs, after their conquest of Ghoober and Zamfra, about the year 1805. “It occupies,” says Captain Clapperton, “a long ridge which slopes gently towards the north, and appeared to me the most populous town I had visited in the interior of Africa; for, unlike most other towns in Houssa, where the houses are thinly scattered, it is laid out in regular well-built streets. The houses approach close to the walls, which were built by the present sultan in 1818, after the death of his father; the old walls being too confined for the increasing population. This wall is between twenty and thirty feet high, and has twelve gates, which are regularly closed at sunset. There are two

\* Clapperton, pp. 185—189.

† This river is well stored with fish, which afford the poor inhabitants a very considerable part of their food.

large mosques, including the new one at present building by the Gadado, besides several other places for prayer. There is a spacious market-place in the centre of the city, and another large square in front of the sultan's residence. The dwellings of the principal people are surrounded with high walls, which enclose numerous coozees and flat-roofed houses, built in the Moorish style; whose large water-spouts of baked clay, projecting from the eaves, resemble at first sight a tier of guns. The inhabitants are principally Fellatahs, possessing numerous slaves. Such of the latter as are not employed in domestic duties, reside in houses by themselves, where they follow various trades; the master, of course, reaping the profit. Their usual employments are weaving, house-building, shoe-making, and iron work: many bring fire-wood to the market for sale. Those employed in raising grain and tending cattle, of which the Fellatahs have immense herds, reside in villages without the city. It is customary for private individuals to free a number of slaves every year, according to their means, during the great feast after the Rhamadan. The enfranchised seldom return to their native country, but continue to reside near their old masters, still acknowledging them as their superiors, and presenting them yearly with a portion of their earnings. The trade of Soccato is at present inconsiderable, owing to the disturbed state of the surrounding country. The necessities of life are very cheap: butchers' meat is in great plenty, and very good. The exports are principally civet and blue check tobes, called *sharie*, which are manufactured by the slaves from Nyffee, of whom the men are considered as the most expert weavers in Soudan, and the women as the best spinners. The common imports are

brought from the borders of Ashantee; and coarse calico and woollen cloth, in small quantities, with brass and pewter dishes, and some few spices from Nyffee. The Arabs, from Tripoli and Ghadamis, bring unwrought silk, attar of roses, spices, and beads. Slaves are both exported and imported. A great quantity of Guinea corn is taken every year by the Tuaricks, in exchange for salt. The market is extremely well supplied, and is held daily from sunrise to sunset. On the north side of Soccatoo, there is a low marsh, with some stagnant pools of water, between the city and the river: this, perhaps, may be the cause of the great prevalence of ague, as the city stands in a fine airy situation."

During the interval between Captain Clapperton's first and second visit, nearly two-thirds of the city were destroyed by a conflagration, said to have been the work of the Ghoober rebels. But an African city is soon rebuilt, and our Traveller was unable to perceive much alteration, if any, in the buildings. Its present appearance is thus described.

"The city is surrounded with a wall about 24 feet high, and a dry ditch. The wall is kept in good repair, and there are eleven gates; one \* having been built up at the breaking out of the rebellion. The house of the Sultan is surrounded with a clay wall, about 20 feet high, having two low, tower-like entrances; one on the east, the other on the west. The eastern one is guarded entirely by eunuchs, the harem being on that side. The whole house forms a little town of itself; for within it, are five square towers, a small mosque, a great number of huts, and a garden,

\* In the printed work, it is *seven*; but this must be a mistake of the transcriber or printer, as the former account mentions "twelve gates" as the number in 1824.



besides a house, which consists of one single room, used as a place for his receiving and hearing complaints, receiving visitors, and giving audiences to strangers. This room or house is nothing more than what we should call in our country a shed. Two large pillars support a beam, or bundle of long rods, plastered over with clay. These support the rafters, which are of the branches of the palm-tree; on the back part is an imitation of a fire-place, with a fire-screen before it; and on each side are two chairs, which are also plastered with clay, and coloured like mahogany. The ornament or figure on the back of these, is the same as those seen on a number of chairs in England, and corresponds to that on the fire-screen. The walls are ornamented partly in the European, and partly in the African fashion. There are two doors, one in the front towards the right, and the other in the left end of the house, and which leads through a small street of huts to a large hut with two doors: passing through, and within a few yards of it, stands a large, square clay tower, with an entrance in the west side. The interior of this is common in most of the great men's houses in Houssa. It is in the shape of a dome, formed of eight arches springing from the ground; in the centre of which is a large, bright brass basin, acting, as it were, in the place of a key-stone to the arches, which are turned by branches plastered over with clay. If I had not seen them constructing the arches and pillars of a mosque, I should have supposed them to be formed entirely of clay, as the wood in no part appears. The clay serves to keep the white ants from destroying the wood: they are ornamented in their fashion while the clay is wet, an operation performed with the fingers and a small square stick. From the arches, about one-third up, runs a



gallery quite round the interior building, having a railing with pillars of wood, covered and ornamented with clay. There are three steps leading up to this gallery, from which everything in the dome may be seen or heard. Passages also lead from it into small rooms, having each one small window, or square hole; some appearing to be used as store-rooms, and others as sleeping-rooms. The floor of the dome was covered with clean white sand. The height might be, from the floor to the brass basin in the centre of the arches, from 35 to 40 feet. The air inside of this dome was cool and pleasant; and Bello told me, he often used it as a place to read in during the heat of the day. These two apartments are the only two I have seen deserving remark within his inclosure. One night that he sent for me, when it was rather late, I was led by the hand by an old woman through several apartments before I arrived at the one in which he was. As there was no light, I could only judge by the stooping, and ascending and descending through doors and galleries, that I passed through some large rooms, out of one into another.

“The houses of the other great men, and those of his brothers, are nearly the same, but on a much smaller scale. A great number of the poorer sort are fenced round with matting, or the stalk of dourra or millet. Before the west front of the Sultan's inclosure is a large open space, of an irregular form, on the west side of which stands the principal mosque. In this space is also the prison, a building of about 80 feet long, and nearly the same in breadth, covered at top with a flat clay roof, overlaid with boughs. Inside is a deep pit, where those who have committed the greatest crimes are confined. No person is put in prison for debt; only thieves, prisoners of war, (taken

singly,) such as spies, and disobedient slaves, who, on a complaint to the Sultan that they will not work, are sent to prison. Their only food is the bran or husks of millet and dourra, with water; but their friends are allowed to give them food, if they have any. It is a filthy place, and the terror of the men slaves of Soccato. The prisoners are taken out, two and two, every day, to work at the walls, or any laborious work which may occur.

“ Another house, with the tomb of the Sultan, is further to the west of the mosque, on the north side of a broad street which leads to the western gate. It is occupied by his widows, concubines, and youngest son, called Abdelgader, who is not arrived at a proper age to have a house for himself. The Sheikh's tent is inside of the square inclosure, behind the room he generally occupied when living. It is visited as a holy place by all Mahommedan strangers.” \*

Of this illustrious personage, the founder of Soccato, and the father of its present Sultan, our Traveller gives the following account.

Sheikh Othman Danfodio (*i.e.* the son of Fodio), was styled (like Sheikh El Kanemy) Sheikh of the Koran, from his being perfect master of that book, any part of which he is said to have been able to repeat and explain from memory. He was a proficient in all the learning of the Arabs; could speak all the dialects of Arabic, as well as most of the languages of the Interior; and enjoyed the reputation of being a prophet. He came originally from the woods of Ader or Tadela, and having settled in Ghoober, built a town, where the Fellatahs soon began to gather round him. Owing, however, to his interference with affairs

\* Clapperton, pp. 207—210.

of state, he became obnoxious to the Sultan of that country, and was ordered to quit the territory. Upon his refusing to obey the order of ejection, the natives of Ghoober rose and drove him out with all his people. He now again settled in Ader, not in the woods, however, but built himself a town. Fellatahs soon, from all quarters, flocked to his standard, whom he divided under different chiefs, and giving to each leader a white flag, he bade them go and conquer in the name of God and the Prophet, as heaven had given to the Fellatahs, the only true believers, the lands and riches of all the *kaffir* nations. Every Fellatah was to wear a white *tobe*, and the war-cry was to be *Allahu Akber*. The heathen tribes of Soudan, lulled into a fatal security, were ill prepared to resist the impetuous attacks of an enemy united by confidence in their leader, and animated at once by the lust of plunder and the ardour of fanaticism. Kano submitted without a blow. The people of Ghoober, having taken the alarm, assaulted Danfodio in his town, in Ader, but were repulsed; and the wily old chief attacking them in his turn, killed their Sultan, and overran their country. After this, the whole of Houssa, with Cubbé, Youri, and part of Nyffee, fell under his dominion. The whole of the Interior, from east to west, was terror-struck. Bornou was attacked with success, as was also Youriba; but, in the latter country, the Fellatahs met with more resistance than anywhere else. The Youribanies, being confirmed *kaffirs*, could not be brought to acknowledge the mission of the Sheikh; and, on being invaded, they put to death all Moslem, whether natives or travelling merchants. The Fellatahs, however, took Rakah, Elora (or Affaga), and a great number of other towns, extending their inroads as far as the coast. They once

entered Eyeo, the capital, the greater part of which they burned, giving liberty to all the Mohammedan slaves, and encouraging others to kill their pagan masters, and join them.

No sooner had the Fellatahs fairly established themselves, than Arabs, from both the east and the west, came to congratulate Danfodio on his newly-acquired territory. To those of Tripoli and Fezzan, he made large presents of slaves and camels, sending none away empty-handed. The fame of his conquests was thus spread in all directions. Numbers of Fellatahs from the west came to settle in Houssa: these, the Sheikh located principally in Zegzeg, giving them the lands of the negro tribes who had fled to the mountains lying to the south of that province.

“The Fellatahs or Foulahs,” continues Captain Clapperton, “before he gathered them under his government, did not live in towns, but were scattered over the greater part of Soudan, attending to their herds and flocks, living in temporary huts, generally in the midst of unfrequented woods, and seldom visiting the towns. This business they left to the women, who attended the markets, and sold the produce of their cattle. The men were reported to live a religious and harmless life, spending a great part of their time in reading the Koran and other religious books. Now and then, a few of their learned men would come forth, and engage themselves for a few years with the Mahometan sultans and governors, until they had collected a little money, with which they purchased a few cattle, and then returned to the woods to their countrymen, who moved about from one province to another, according to the seasons, and the nature and quantity of pasture and water; contented with building temporary huts of straw and rushes, and to be



left in peace. No one indeed thought of disturbing them, or of interfering with their pursuits, they being probably considered as too contemptible and insignificant to excite any fear. Thus dispersed, no one but themselves knew or could guess at their numbers. Melli, or the petty kingdoms of Foota-Torra, Foota-Bondoo, and Fcota-Jallo, were the places whence they spread themselves eastward, until they became very considerable, in point of numbers, in all the countries between the above-mentioned places and Waday. Many of them had performed their pilgrimage to Mecca, and others had visited the empires of Turkey and Morocco, as also Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, bringing back with them all the Arabic books they were able to beg or buy."

During the reign of the Sheikh, the Mohammedan code was strictly enforced, not only among the Fellatahs, but also among his Arab and negro subjects; and "the whole country, when not in a state of war, was so well regulated, that it was a common saying, that a woman might travel with a casket of gold upon her head from one end of the Fellatah dominions to another." \* At length, in A.H. 1218 (A.D. 1802), the old Sheikh became insane, and his madness took a very unhappy turn. In his paroxysms, he would cry out, that he should go to hell for having put to death so many good Mussulmans. Of this, the Arabs took advantage to extort presents from him, to assuage the manes of their friends. Not so the Fellatahs, whose veneration for their chief was so great, that, when his head was being shaved, the hairs were carefully collected by them, and preserved in cases of gold and

\* The same saying was current among the Moors respecting the empire of Morocco in the reign of Muley Ismael.—See p. 344 of our first volume.



silver; and numbers used to come from all parts of the Interior, Negroes as well as Fellatahs, to obtain a sight of him. Sheikh Othman died in A.H. 1232, (A.D. 1816,) when his son, Mohammed Bello, succeeded to the government of Houssa;\* but the conquered territories to the westward of Houssa, were given to his nephew, Mohammed Ben Abdallah. The death of Danfodio was the signal for an attempt on the part of the conquered provinces to throw off the yoke; and all the Fellatahs that could be seized, were put to death. Since then, Sultan Bello has retaken the greater part of Ghoober and Nyffee; and Zamfra, Guari, and Cubbé have, in part, submitted, on condition of being ruled by their native chiefs, without the interference of the Fellatahs.†

Sultan Bello is described as a portly and noble-looking personage, five feet ten inches in stature, with a short, curling, black beard, a small mouth, Grecian

\* On the death of the Sheikh, Ateeko, the brother of Mohammed Bello, both by father and mother, attempted to usurp the government; his brother having intimated his intention to resign the splendour of sovereignty for a learned and holy life. Ateeko, we are told, "had even the audacity to enter his brother's house, preceded by drums and trumpets; and when Bello inquired the cause of the tumult, he received the first intimation of his brother's perfidy, in the answer, 'The Sultan Ateeko is come.' Bello, nowise disconcerted, immediately ordered the usurper into his presence; when Ateeko pleaded, in vindication of his conduct, his brother's proposed disinclination to reign; to which the Sultan only deigned to reply, 'Go and take off these trappings, or I will take off your head.' Ateeko, with characteristic abjectness of spirit, began to wring his hands, as if washing them in water, and called God and the Prophet to witness that his motives were innocent and upright; since which time, he has remained in the utmost obscurity."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 356. Captain Clapperton says, that Bello confined him to his house for twelve months, and "they are now as good friends as before."—Clapperton, p. 207. Few sultans would have acted with the magnanimity of this Fellatah sovereign,

† Clapperton, pp. 203—207.

nose, fine forehead, and large black eyes. When Captain Clapperton was first presented to him, he was dressed in a light blue cotton *tobe*, with a white muslin turban, the shawl of which he wore over the nose and mouth in the Tuarick fashion. He bade the Captain welcome with much apparent cordiality, and discovered an intelligent curiosity respecting the nations of Europe, making particular inquiries respecting our religious distinctions. He asked Captain Clapperton, whether his countrymen were Nestorians or Socinians: of Protestants, under that name, he had never heard. Among the presents from his Britannic Majesty, the compass and spy-glass excited his attention the most; and he was much gratified on learning that, by means of the former, he could at any time find out the East, and direct his daily prayers to the proper *kebla*. The assurance that we have no slaves in England, excited great surprise. "God is great," he exclaimed, "you are a beautiful people." During his stay at Soccatoo, the Captain was regularly supplied with provisions from the Sultan's table, on pewter dishes with the London stamp. One day, he had a piece of meat served up to him in a white wash-hand basin of English manufacture. He remained here from the middle of March till the first week in May; when, having been obliged to abandon his intention of reaching the coast by way of Youri, owing to the alleged dangers of the road, he set off on his homeward route through Kano and Bornou, and on the 10th of July, once more found himself at Kouka.

The reception which Captain Clapperton met with from the Sultan of the Fellatahs, on his second mission, was not less kind and gratifying; but war had in the interim broken out between Sultan Bello

and the Sheikh of Bornou, on which account our Traveller was given to understand, that he could not be allowed to proceed to Kouka; and he was required to give up the letter and presents designed for the Sheikh. It was suspected, that the latter might include arms or warlike stores. Upon his refusal, they were taken from him; and this breach of faith on the part of the Sultan, as Captain Clapperton regarded it, had such an effect upon his spirits, that his servant Lander says, he never saw him smile afterwards. Yet, in all other respects, he was treated with undiminished hospitality and consideration; and Bello discovered an honourable anxiety to explain his conduct, and to soothe the irritated feelings of our Traveller.\* Not long afterwards, intelligence was re-

\* The following letter addressed by Sultan Bello to Captain Clapperton while at Soccatoo, does equal honour to his head and his heart. "In the name of God; and praise be to God, &c., &c. To Abd Allah Clapperton, salutation and esteem. You are now our guest, and a guest is always welcomed by us; you are the messenger of a king, and a king's messenger is always honoured by us; you come to us under our honour as an ambassador, and an ambassador is always protected by us. There is no harm in the King's ministers sending you to the Sheikh Kanemi of Bornou; nor do we see any harm in your coming when thus sent. But when you formerly came to us from Bornou, peace was then between us and the Sheikh; whereas there is now war between him and ourselves; we cannot perceive any blame in our preventing warlike stores from being sent to him. We continue to maintain our faith with you, and are ready to attend to all your wishes, because we consider you as a trusty friend, and one who enjoys a high degree of esteem with us. Do not encroach upon us; we will not encroach upon you. We have rights to maintain, and you have also rights to be respected. And *sdlam* be to you." (Sealed as usual.) See Quart. Rev., No. lxxviii. p. 521. "It is difficult to conceive," it is added, "why so reasonable and friendly a letter should have failed to subdue the irritation of the Traveller: this can be accounted for only by his ill-health, or by supposing that he was ignorant of its contents."

ceived at Soccatoo, of the total defeat of Sheikh El Kanemy by the governors of Zegzeg, Fudba, and Kano, and of his subsequent retreat with the loss of all his baggage, camels, and tents, 209 horses, and a number of slaves. This news put the Fellatahs into high spirits; and the Sultan redoubled his attentions to our Traveller, discussing with him which would be the best way of his returning to England. But Clapperton's health had long been declining; and on the 12th of March, the date of the last entry in his journal, he was attacked with dysentery. For twenty days, he remained in a low and distressed state, his body gradually wasting away till he was reduced to a mere skeleton. On the 1st of April, he became sensibly worse; and on the 13th, he expired. The body was interred, agreeably to the Sultan's directions, at Jungavie, a small village on a rising ground about five miles to the S.E. of Soccatoo, Lander performing the last sad office of reading the English service over the remains of his generous and intrepid master; and a house was erected over the grave. The fire-arms, powder, flints, and gilt chains belonging to the deceased, were demanded by the Sultan; but Lander was allowed to put his own price upon them; and an order was given him to receive the amount at Kano, as well as what more he might require for his journey. The details of his homeward route have already been given; and it now only remains to collate the notices contained in this most interesting volume, with the information furnished by preceding Travellers, relative to the manners and customs of these Fellatahs, who seem destined to become the most powerful nation in Central Africa.



## THE FELLATAHS.

THE ordinary occupations of all classes of the Fellatahs, are described as follows. "They rise at day-break, wash, and say their prayers, count their beads for about half an hour, and then chew a gora-nut, if they have any; after which, they sip a quantity of *senkie* or *furro-furrocoo* (preparations of dourra-flowers, flour, and milk, or water). About ten A.M., they have boiled rice served with a little melted butter. After this, they pay visits, or lounge in the shade, hear the news, say prayers, and count their beads, till sunset, when they take a meal of pudding with a little stewed meat or a few small fish. They then retire to rest. During the spring and harvest, the proprietors of estates ride out to their different slave-villages, to look after their grain, cotton, or indigo-plantations, or to the place where they have their cattle. The wives of the principal people, (who all appear to keep up the number allowed by the Koran,) are occupied in directing the female slaves in their work, cooking their husbands' food, cleaning and spinning cotton, and dressing their hair, teeth, eye-brows, and eye-lashes; which take up no little time. They also take charge of sending the female slaves to market, to sell their spare cotton, grain, *furro-furrocoo*, millet, cakes fried in butter, and fried fish: the latter are usually caught by the younger male slaves. Much time is spent in receiving and paying visits; for they are great gossips, and are allowed more liberty than the generality of Mohammedan women.

"The dress of the men is a red cap with a blue tassel of silk, a white turban, part of which, or a fold, shades the brow and eyes; another fold is taken over the nose, which covers the mouth and chin, hanging down



on the breast ; a white shirt, close at the breast, and short in the skirts, a large white robe, and white trousers, trimmed with red or green silk, and a pair of sandals or boots : this is the dress of the greater part of the wealthy inhabitants. When travelling, they wear, over the turban, a broad-brimmed straw hat, with a round, low crown. Some who do not affect great sanctity or learning, wear check robes and blue turbans over the forehead, with the end hanging down behind ; the poorer, a white check robe, white cap and trousers, and sandals. Some are content with the straw hat only ; but all wear a sword, which is carried over the left shoulder. The women have a cloth striped with blue, white, and red, falling as low as the ankles ; silver rings in the ears, about an inch and a half in diameter ; bracelets of horn, glass, brass, copper, or silver, according to the quality of the wearer ; round the neck, beads and strings of glass, or coral ; round the ankles, brass, copper, or silver, and sometimes rings on the toes as well as fingers. The fashionable ornament is a Spanish dollar soldered fast to a ring. The poor women have pewter, brass, and copper rings. The hair is generally turned up like a crest on the top of the head, with something like a pig's tail hanging down from each extremity, a little before the ears.

“ Some of the Fellatah women have the hair frizzed out at the ends, all round the head ; others have the hair plaited in four small plaits, going round the head like a riband or bandeau. This, and all the plaited parts, are well smeared over with indigo or shumri. The razor is applied to smooth all uneven places, and to give a high and fine arch to the forehead ; they thin the eye-brows to a fine line, which, with the eye-lashes, are rubbed over with pounded lead ore : this is

done by drawing a small pen that has been dipped in this ore. The teeth are then dyed with the gora-nut, and a root of a shining red colour; the hands and feet, the toe and finger nails, are stained red with henna. A lady, thus equipped, is fit to appear in the best society. The looking-glass is a circular piece of métal, about an inch and a half in diameter, set in a small skin box, and is often applied to. The young girls of the better sort of people, dress much in the same manner as their mothers, after they arrive at the age of nine or ten : before that, they have very little dress, except the binta or apron, scoloped or vandyked round with red cloth, with two long, broad strings vandyked round in the same manner, hanging down as low as the heels behind. This is the dress of the poorer sort of people, until fit for marriage, as also of a great many of the virgin female slaves.

“ Their marriages are celebrated without any pomp or noise. The bride, as far as I was informed, is always consulted by her parents ; but a refusal on her part is unknown. The poorer class of people make up matters much in the same way ; that is, after having got the consent of one another, they ask their father and mother. The dowry given by a man of good condition with regard to riches, may be said to consist of young female slaves, carved and mounted calabashes or gourds, filled with millet, dourra, and rice, cloths for the loins, bracelets, and the equipage of her toilet, and one or two large wooden mortars for beating corn, &c. and stones for grinding, &c. : even these are carried in procession on the heads of her female slaves, when she first goes to her husband's house.

“ They always bury their dead behind the house which the deceased occupied while living.\* The fol-

\* See p. 317 of our second volume.

lowing day, all the friends and relations of the deceased visit the head of the family, and sit awhile with the bereaved party. If the husband dies, the widow returns to the house of her parents, with the property she brought with her.

“ The domestic slaves are generally well treated. The males who have arrived at the age of eighteen or nineteen, are given a wife, and sent to live at their villages and farms in the country, where they build a hut, and, until the harvest, are fed by their owners. When the time for cultivating the ground and sowing the seed comes on, the owner points out what he requires, and what is to be sown on it. The slave is then allowed to inclose a part for himself and family. The hours of labour, for his master, are from daylight till mid-day; the remainder of the day is employed on his own, or in any other way he may think proper. At the time of harvest, when they cut and tie up the grain, each slave gets a bundle of the different sorts of grain, about a bushel of our measure, for himself. The grain on his own ground is entirely left for his own use, and he may dispose of it as he thinks proper. At the vacant seasons of the year, he must attend to the calls of his master; whether to accompany him on a journey, or to go to war, if so ordered.

“ The children of a slave are also slaves, and, when able, are usually sent out to attend the goats and sheep, and, at a more advanced age, the bullocks and larger cattle; they are soon afterwards taken home to the master's house, to look after his horse or his domestic concerns, as long as they remain single. The domestic slaves are fed the same as the rest of the family, with whom they appear to be on an equality of footing.

“ The children of slaves, whether dwelling in the house or on the farm; are never sold, unless their be-

haviour is such, that, after repeated punishment, they continue unmanageable, so that the master is compelled to part with them. The slaves that are sold, are those taken from the enemy, or newly purchased, who on trial do not suit the purchaser. When a male or female slave dies unmarried, his property goes to the owner. The children of the slaves are sometimes educated with those of the owner; but this is not generally the case.

“The male and female children of the better sort of the Fellatahs, are all taught to write and read Arabic, but are instructed separately. The male children of the great are generally sent to another town, at some distance from that where their parents reside, to receive their education; in which case, they usually reside in the house of a friend, and a malleem, or man of learning, attends them. Those of the middle and lower classes generally send their children to the schools, which they attend for an hour at day-break, and another at sunset, reading their Arabic lessons aloud and simultaneously. They are required to get their lessons by heart before the writing is washed off the board on which it is written. The ink thus diluted is drunk by the scholars, when their master writes a new lesson on the board.

“These Africans keep up the appearance of religion: they pray five times a day. They seldom take the trouble to wash before prayers, except in the morning; but they go through the motions of washing, clapping their hands on the ground as if in water, and muttering a prayer. All their prayers and religious expressions are in Arabic; and I may say, without exaggeration, taking Negroes and Fellatahs together, that not one in a thousand knows what he is saying. All they know of their religion is, to repeat their prayers by rote in



Arabic. Of the Fellatahs, about one in ten is able to read and write. They believe, they say, in predestination, but it is all a farce. They believe, however, in divination by the book, in dreams, and in good and bad omens.

“The government of the Fellatahs in Soudan, is in its infancy. The governors of the different provinces are appointed during pleasure ; and all their property, on their death or removal, falls to the Sultan. The appointment to a vacancy is sold to the highest bidder, who is generally a near relation, provided that his property is sufficient to enable him to bid up to the mark. All the inferior offices in the towns are sold in like manner by the governors, who also succeed to the property of those petty officers at their death or removal.....In the province of Kano, they have no regular system of taxation. A great deal of marketable property is claimed by the governor, such as two-thirds of the produce of all the date-trees\* and other fruit-trees, the proprietor being allowed only the remaining third. A small duty is also levied on every article sold in the market ; or, in lieu thereof, a certain rent is paid for the stall or shed. A duty is also fixed on every *tobe* that is dyed blue, and sold. On grain, there is no duty. Kano produces the greatest revenue that the Sultan receives : it is paid monthly, in horses, cloth, and cowries. Adamowa pays yearly in slaves ; Yacoba, in slaves and lead-ore ; Zegzeg, in slaves and cowries ; Zamfra, the same ; Hadiga and Katagum, and Zaonima, in horses, bullocks, and slaves ; Kashna, in slaves, cowries, and cloth ; Ader, or Tadela, in bul-

\* “They have not been able to make the date-tree grow at Soccatoo : whenever it gets a little above ground, it rots and dies. They have a great many wild fruit-trees ; the principal is the butter-tree. A few fig and pomegranate trees are grown in gardens.”



locks, sheep, camels; and a coarse kind of cotton cloth, like what is called by us a counterpane.”\*

The origin of the Fellatahs is involved in considerable obscurity, but there can be no doubt that they have proceeded from the northward, and that they have, within a comparatively recent period, spread themselves over Soudan. Of their identity with the Foulahs of Western Africa, there is the clearest proof, although the latter appear to have mingled more with the negro tribes.† The original country of the Foulahs is said to be a tract of no great extent along the eastern branch of the Senegal river, situated between Manding and Kasson, Bambook and Kaarta,

\* Clapperton, pp. 210—224.

† Professor Vater has given, in his “Mithridates,” a vocabulary of twenty Fellatah words, obtained by Dr. Seetzen from a native of Ader, together with the corresponding words in the dialect of the Foulahs on the Senegal, taken from Barbot’s description of Guinea. Of these, fourteen appear to be the same in both languages; two are Arabic in one of the dialects; and five appear to differ. A more copious vocabulary of Fellatah words is given by Mr. Lyon, taken down from a young woman of Soccato, while M. Mollien has furnished a vocabulary of “Poula” words; on comparing which, among some apparent differences, we find many decisive proofs of identity. In the following specimens, the first word is Fellatah; the second Foulah. Woman, *Debbo*; *Dembo*. Girl, *Bitadeppo*; *Bidodeppo*. Sun, *Naanga*; *Nangua*. Hand, *Jungo*; *Diongo*. Head, *Hora*; *Wooru*. Teeth, *Nia*; *Nigua*. Horse, *Pootchio*; *Pottioo*. Flesh, *Taïoo*; *Tao*. Goat, *Baia*; *Beaua*. Father, *Babama*; *Baba*. Brother, *Minia*; *Minierado*. Milk, *Koossum*; *Cosson*. To-day, *Ilanda-nundi*; *Anda*. To-morrow, *Tiango*; *Diango*. Grass, *Koodoo*; *Oodo*. Bird, *Sondoo*; *Sondou*. Knife, *Lab*; *Laba*. Brass, *Yamgo-daikoo*; *Daikao-alla*. Eat, *Aniamt*; *Niamda*. One, two, three, (according to Seetzen,) *Go*; *Didi*, *Tetti*; in Mollien and Park, *Go*, *Didi*, *Tati*. See Lyon, 135—138; Mollien, 372—378. The Fellatah is styled by Balbi, with some propriety, the Italian of Africa. Park says, that the Foulah abounds in liquids, “but there is something unpleasant in the manner of pronouncing it. A stranger, on hearing the common conversation of two Foulahs, would imagine that they were scolding each other.”

and which bears the name of Foola-doo, or the country of the Foolaahs. "But whether this be really the case," remarks Major Rennell, "or whether they might not have come from the country within Serra Leona, (called also the Foulah country,) may be a question. The Foulahs occupy, at least, as sovereigns, several provinces or kingdoms, interspersed throughout the tract comprehended between the mountainous border of the country of Serra Leona on the west, and that of Tombuctoo on the east, as also a large tract on the lower part of the Senegal river; and these provinces are insulated from each other in a very remarkable manner. Their religion is Mahomedism, but with a great mixture of Paganism, and with less intolerance than is practised by the Moors.

"The principal of the Foulah states is that within Serra Leona, and of which Teemboo is the capital. The next in order appears to be that bordering on the south of the Senegal river, and on the Jallofs, and which is properly named Siratik. Others, of less note, are Bondoo, with Foota Torra adjacent to it, lying between the rivers Gambia and Falemé; Foola-doo and Brooko, along the upper part of the Senegal river; Wassela, beyond the upper part of the Niger; and Massina, lower down on the same river, adjoining to Tombuctoo on the west."\*

It appears, however, that these Foulah states are not much older than the Fellatah empire of Takroor or Houssa. Major Gray tells us, that the Foolaahs, according to their own account, have had possession of Foota Jallon not above sixty years. This country, which lies between Sierra Leone and the Gambia,

\* Park's Travels, Appendix by Rennell, vol. i. pp. 453—4. *Siratik*, according to Golberry, is the name, not of the territory, but of the sovereign.

having Teembo for its capital, when 'in possession of the Jallonkeas, the aboriginal inhabitants, bore the name of Jallonk, which has been softened into Jallon and Jallo ; and the prefix Foola is a corruption of Foolah or Foolata. "The Jallonkeas," continues Major Gray, "are now subject to the Foolahs, who conquered the country under the direction of a family from Massina, consisting of the father, two sons, and a few followers. One of the sons was a Mohammedan priest, and gradually gained such influence among the Jallonkeas, that he converted many of them to his own faith, and, by means of his wealth, strongly attached them to his interest. A few years enabled them to make so many converts to their religion, and their riches procured them so much favour, that they planned and carried into execution the subjection of the Jallonkeas, (at least, of such as would not embrace the Mohammedan faith,) and the usurpation of the supreme government. The first exercise of their power was, to oblige those who still adhered to paganism to pay them a yearly tribute, or quit the country which for ages had been their own. From that family is descended the present *almamy* (sovereign.) Karamoka Alpha was the first *almamy* of Teembo, and was surnamed *Moudoo*, or the Great, being at the same time acknowledged as the chief Imam and defender of their religion. He was succeeded by his son, Yoro Padde, surnamed Soorie, at whose death the regal power was assumed by Almamy Saadoo, who was deposed by Alpha Salihou."\* This sovereign "distinguished his reign by a succession of predatory excursions against several kaffir tribes of the neighbouring states, many of whom he destroyed, plundered, or rendered tributary. He was succeeded by Abdullahi

\* Gray's Travels, pp. 37—39.

Ba Demba ;" on whose deposal, Abdoolghader, the reigning *almamy* in 1817, obtained the throne. Although possessed of the chief power, the *almamy* cannot, however, decide upon any affair of importance without the consent of his chiefs.

M. Mollien, who visited Teembo in 1818, gives the following account of the same people under the name of Poulas.

" Tradition relates, that the Poulas formerly inhabited fertile regions in the northern part of Africa, perhaps Numidia. They were shepherds and rovers. The form of the huts which they still build, proves that they were accustomed to live in tents. The Jollofs also inhabited that part of the African continent, but were, I should imagine, a more stationary people. When the Saracens made themselves masters of those countries, the Jollofs and Poulas, affrighted at the invasion of those ferocious conquerors, traversed the desert, and settled in the tracts they now occupy. The Serreres, a negro nation, were then masters of it. At the sight of men mounted on camels and horses, they fled towards the south-west, where they formed other states, which still exist under the names of Baol and Sin. The Moors, however, followed the Poulas to the south of the Senegal, and drove them from the countries of which they had taken possession. The Poulas, who had till then fled before their enemies, would not quit for ever a fertile tract, to bury themselves in barren deserts. They began, therefore, to think of recovering the conquests from which they had been dislodged, and engaged to pay to the Moors a tribute of ten measures of millet for every chief of a family, and to embrace the Mahometan religion. This is now the only religion tolerated in the country, and the tribute is punctually paid every year.



“ This great nation of the Poulas, or men of a red colour, is almost become extinct. These people, having contracted marriages with the Joloffs and Serreres, have produced a race of mulattoes called Torodos, from whom the province of Toro, in Fouta, derives its name; which has even been extended to the whole country, because these Torodos have made themselves masters of it, and driven out the red Poulas, by whom it was formerly occupied. The latter, dispersed in the deserts of the kingdoms of the Bourb-Joloffs, Cayor, and Salum, still lead there the roving life of their ancestors. A very small number of them, however, have retained their colour. The red Poulas and the Torodos speak the language of their forefathers, but mingled with Serrere and Joloff words. The Serreres are evidently the most ancient inhabitants of this part of Africa. Their language, which is extremely simple, is probably one of the oldest, and their wild manners have not undergone any change.

“ The Poulas, likewise, made an irruption into the regions situated more to the east; for they occupy Massina and several districts beyond Tombuctoo; Kassoun, where they speak the Mandingo; Wasselon, where they are Pagans; Sangarari, Bondou, and Fouta Jallon, which is the extent of their conquests to the south. They have every where united with the black people whom they have conquered; and thus, their race has almost entirely disappeared, and given place to another, composed of reddish or black men, who have fixed dwellings, and have partly adopted the negro manners.”\*

Major Denham describes the Fellatahs bordering on Mandara, as “ a very handsome race, of a deep copper colour, who seldom mix their blood with that of

\* Mollien, 157—9,



the negroes. They bear some resemblance to the Shouaas, although they are quite a distinct race.”\*

Captain Lyon, speaking of the Fellatahs, says: “ Their complexion being of a much lighter hue than that of the other tribes, they call themselves white: their colour resembles that of our gipsies in England. Many female slaves are brought to Mourzouk from their nation, and are very handsome women.”† The young woman from whom this Traveller obtained his vocabulary of Fellatah words, was of a fair complexion, and had an intelligent countenance. They call themselves, he says, *Fellan*; and he expresses his conviction that they will be found to be the Foulah of Park. The description given by the latter Traveller of the Foulahs (“ or Pholeys”) residing near the Gambia, assigns to them a complexion for the most part tawny, with small and pleasing features, and soft, silky hair. “ They are,” he adds, “ much attached to a pastoral life, and have introduced themselves into all the kingdoms on the windward coast, as herdsmen and husbandmen, paying a tribute to the sovereigns of the country for the lands which they hold.” The Foulahs of Bondou, who are of a more yellow complexion than in the southern states, “ are naturally,” he says, “ of a mild and gentle disposition. They evidently consider all the negro natives as their inferiors, and when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the

\* Denham, vol. i. p. 288. A Fellatah from Conally, a populous town to the west of Jennie, on the Quorra, conversed with ease with a Fellatah slave from Musfeia, although their native towns are nearly 500 miles apart.

† Lyon, p. 134. Their calling themselves white, may explain the circumstance mentioned at page 308 of our second volume; that of a Fellatah girl accosting Captain Clapperton as belonging to her own nation. Jobson also describes the *Fulbies*, (meaning Foulahs), as “ a tawny people, much like to those vagrants among us called Egyptians.”—Murray, vol. i. p. 184.

white people.....The industry of the Foulahs in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is every where remarkable. Even on the banks of the Gambia, the greater part of the corn is raised by them; and their herds and flocks are more numerous and in better condition than those of the Mandingoes; but in Bondou, they are opulent in a high degree, and enjoy all the necessaries of life in the greatest profusion. They display great skill in the management of their cattle, making them extremely gentle by kindness and familiarity. On the approach of night, they are collected from the woods, and secured in folds, called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. The Foulahs use the milk chiefly as an article of diet, and that not until it is quite sour. The cream which it affords, is converted into butter, by stirring it violently in a large calabash.\* This butter, when melted over a gentle fire, and freed from impurities, is preserved in small earthen pots, and forms a part in most of their dishes: it serves likewise to anoint their heads, and is bestowed very liberally on their faces and arms. But, although milk is plentiful, it is somewhat remarkable, that the Foulahs, and indeed all the inhabitants of this part of Africa, are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheese. The heat of the climate, and the great scarcity of salt, are held forth as unanswerable objections; and the whole process appears to them too long and troublesome to be attended with any solid advantage. Besides the cattle, which constitutes the chief wealth of the Foulahs, they possess some excellent horses, the breed of which seems

\* The butter of the Fellatahs is highly praised by Clapperton. See page 308 of our second volume.

to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African.

“ With the Mohammedan faith is also introduced the Arabic language, with which most of the Foulahs have a slight acquaintance.\*.....In the exercise of their faith, they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is not known among them, nor is it necessary, for the system of Mohammed is made to extend itself by means abundantly more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the Pagan, as well as Mohammedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the Prophet, the Mohammedan priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterwards remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished they had better instructors and a purer religion.”†

M. Golberry, who explored the regions of the Sene-

\* In the Foolah vocabulary given by Vater, we have the Arabic words, *Allah*, *God* ; and *Szemma*, Heaven. And in that of Mollien, we have *Iblis*, and a few others of Arabic derivation. But it may be questioned, whether their knowledge of Arabic extends beyond these few theological terms.—See p. 8 of this volume.

† Park, vol. i. pp. 16 ; 57—60. It is a vulgar error, that Mohammedism has propagated itself only by means of the sword. Its progress in Malabar is ascribed by Governor Duncan chiefly to “ the zeal of its more early proselytes in converting the natives, as well as in purchasing or procuring the children of the poorer classes, and bringing them up in that faith.”—*Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 7. Mohammedism has employed the sword to exterminate ; it has been indebted for its diffusion, to its commercial spirit and literary institutions ; but its perpetuation must be ascribed to other than mere secondary causes.

gal in 1785—1787, gives the following description of the same people.—“ The legitimate Foulahs are very fine men, robust, and courageous ; they have a strong mind, and are mysterious (reserved) and prudent ; they understand commerce, and travel in the capacity of merchants as far as the Gulf of Guinea. Their women are handsome and sprightly. The colour of their skin is a reddish black ; their countenances are regular, and their hair is longer, and not so woolly as that of the common negroes. Their language is altogether different from that of the nations by whom they are surrounded ; it is more elegant and sonorous. These Foulahs of the kingdom of Teemboo, have preserved in part the religion of the Fetishes, together with the practice of every species of superstition : with this, they mix the religion of Mohammed, which has been communicated to them. The colony of Foulahs, which, under the name of Foules or Poules, people the borders of the Senegal, between Podhor and Galam (Kajaaga), are black, with a tincture of a reddish, copper colour : they are, in general, handsome and well-made ; the women are pretty, but proud, sensible, indolent, and affectionate. All the Foulahs of the Senegal are zealous Mohammedans. They are intelligent and industrious ; but, from their habitual commerce with the Moors of Zahara, they have become savage and cruel.....The features of both the Foulahs and the Mandingoes appear to have more affinity with those of the blacks of India, than with the negroes.”\*

Captain Clapperton tells us, that the Fellatahs are, in features, as well as in the manner of wearing the turban, very like to the inhabitants of Tetuan in Morocco ; and Mollien describes the Imaum of Teembo

\* Golberry, by Mudford, vol. i. pp. 72, 73.



as a Poula whose features and complexion exactly resembled those of a Moor. The *Kadi* of Katagum, the former Traveller tells us, was a Fellatah, of “a coal-black complexion, with a hook-nose, large eyes, and a full, bushy beard;” while his guide from Kano to Soccattoo was a “fair-complexioned Fellatah.”\* Dr. Winterbottom, in his account of the native Africans of Sierra Leone, describes the Foolahs as for the most part of a lighter complexion than their neighbours on the coast; “but, though less black than some of their neighbours,” he adds, “the Foolah complexion can only be regarded as an intermediate shade between the darkest African and the Moor.” He afterwards speaks of it as a dark mahogany colour.

The fact appears to be, that the complexion of the Fellatahs and the Foolahs, like that of the Tuaricks† and the Hindoos,‡ varies to a degree for which it is not easy to account by any mixture of race, peculiar habits, or difference of local situation. Captain Clapperton found tribes of Fellatahs nearly white, in different parts of Borgoo and Youriba. Tribes of red or copper-coloured people are met with in the midst of black nations, and occupying tracts of the same elevation. The country of the Foolahs is, however, for the most part, high and mountainous; and it is in such districts that the copper-coloured races are generally found. Thus, the Jallonks, whom they are said to have conquered, and with whom they appear to have blended, are described by Mollien as a race of reddish complexion, but differing from the Foolahs in features, having the nose broad and flat, with a fe-

\* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 227, 250, 304. Mollien, 205.

† See page 159, 167, of our second volume.

‡ See MOD. TRAV., India, vol. iii. p. 212. The olive, copper-colour, and black varieties all occur among Hindoos of the same caste, and under the same latitude.



rocious look, and being of low stature.\* The Mandingoes, on the other hand, whose original country, according to Golberry, is the mountainous tract between the sources of the Gambia and the town of Kong, are described as having a black complexion, with a mixture of yellow; which nearly answers to Park's description of the Foolahs. "Their features," the French Traveller adds, "are regular; their character generous and open, and their manners hospitable; their women are pretty and amiable; they are zealous professors of the religion of Mohammed, though they retain many of the practices of Fetishism, and some superstitious customs."† These "Hindoos of Africa," as Major Rennell styles them, are described by Park in terms not less favourable. "The Mandingoes," he says, "are, in particular, a very gentle race, cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. The men are commonly above the middle size, well-shaped, strong, and capable of enduring great labour: the women are good-natured, sprightly, and agreeable."‡ Their complexion is not described, but he always speaks of them as negroes; yet, in their features, they are clearly distinguishable from the negro race; and if the representation of Golberry, which assigns them a yellowish black complexion, be correct, they would seem better to answer to the White Ethiops of the ancients, according to Major Rennell's explanation of the word,|| than the

\* Mollien, p. 296.

† Golberry, vol. i. p. 73.

‡ Park, vol. i. pp. 255, 19.

|| By that term, Major Rennell thinks, Ptolemy meant to describe a people "less black than the generality of the Ethiopians." He places the *Leucæthiopes* "in the situation occupied by the Foolahs; that is, in the parallel of 9° N.; having to the N. the mountains of *Ryssadius*, which separate the courses of the *Stachir* and *Nia* rivers (Gambia and *Rio Grande*.)"—Appendix to Park, vol. i

copper-coloured Foolahs, who clearly appear to have emigrated from the north, and could not have been ranked among the nations of Nigritia.

The black Foolahs, M. Mollien, we have seen, imagines to be a mixed race, descended from a union of the red Poulas with genuine negroes. In that case, however, their hair and features, as well as their complexion, would betray their affinity to the negro race, which does not appear to be the fact. "Like all the mulatto races," he says, "the black Poulas equally despise the negro, and detest the red or primitive Poula, from whom they originally sprang." But this animosity, no doubt, originates in very different causes, since Fellatahs of every variety of complexion appear to live together in harmony. Nor is it necessary to have recourse to the supposition of a mixture of blood, to account for the darker colour of these Poulas. Bishop Heber remarks, that the Portuguese natives of Bengal form unions among themselves alone, or, if they can, with Europeans. Yet, the Portuguese have, during a residence of three hundred years in India, become as black as Caffres.\* And, in like manner, all the northern races, even without intermarrying with the Hindoos, in a few generations, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than the negro, which seems natural to the climate. The leading characteristic of the genuine Foolahs seems to be their pastoral habits. "The Poulas," says Mollien, "breed great numbers [of horned cattle, which constitute their chief property. Such is the attention which they pay to these animals, that, notwithstanding the enormous price of salt, they

p. 457: But there is no reason to believe that this was the original country of the Foulahs.

\* Heber's Journal, vol. i. p. 68.

give it to their oxen, for the purpose of fattening them. The Poulas have also many asses : their horses are small, but excellent in point of speed..... The Poula is industrious : his hut is well-built ; his clothes are woven with care ; he ornaments them with figures in a delicate taste. His productions of iron and leather are well made, although inferior to those of the Moors. Every village has its weavers, shoe-makers, and blacksmiths. I have seen sandals made in a really elegant manner, of red morocco of a brilliant tint ; and the mechanism of their locks, although simple, shews that the smiths are not deficient in ingenuity. Their stirrups, silver bells, earrings, and other trinkets, display some talent in the workman. The art of weaving is considerably advanced : they have arrived at the manufacture of muslin, coarse indeed, but useful. The manner in which they manufacture their earthenware, is very simple. After having shaped their vessels, they place them one upon another in the middle of a field, covering the whole with straw, to which they set fire ; and this gives them a sufficient degree of baking. The country is, in general, well cultivated ; and on the banks of the Senegal, the Poulas have, in some places, even the patience to encircle each ear of millet with a wisp of straw : without this precaution, the birds, especially the paroquets, whose number is infinite, would destroy their crops.

“ The black Poulas,” continues this Traveller, “ are of ordinary stature and well proportioned. Some wear their hair long ; others cut it quite close. They wear very wide drawers and a long tunic with large sleeves ; their head is covered with a small cotton cap ; and they are almost all armed with muskets. The women are pretty and well-shaped, with oval faces

and delicate features ; their feet are small, but their legs somewhat bowed : they are seldom so stout as the negresses. They load their hair with ornaments of yellow amber and coral, and their necks with gold or glass beads. Over the head, they throw a muslin veil. Some wear a jacket with sleeves, as well as a loin-cloth.....They are not slaves, like the Joloff women, but wives, and, in reality, mistresses of the house. They obey, but only when they please ; and their husbands are often obliged to give way to them.

“The Poulas, since they became Mohammedans, have renounced the favourite amusements of other blacks, dancing and music. I saw no other instruments among them, than a kind of Jew’s harp, the sound of which cannot be pleasing to any but an African ear. The *griots* (priests or bards) of this country, confine themselves to the recitation of prayers, the melody of which resembles the chanting of our Psalms. All the Poulas are engaged in trade, but we can scarcely give the name of merchants to any but those who carry their goods from one country to another ; and these are more enlightened than the rest of their countrymen. As a natural result of their distant travels, they have a great esteem for Europeans.” \*

. Teembo, the capital of the Foolah kingdom of Fouta Jallon, is situated at the foot of a high mountain, about 160 miles to the N.E. of Sierra Leone, and contains, according to this Traveller, about 9000 souls. There is a spacious mosque and three forts, in one of which is the palace of the *almamy*, consisting of five large huts. The fortifications are of earth, and are falling to ruin : in several places, they have loopholes. All the huts are built with taste ; the courts

\* Mollien, pp. 163–169.



are planted with papaw and banana-trees. - "Timbo," adds M. Mollien, "must be a very ancient city: all the neighbouring country bears the same name. Hence sprang the present masters of Foota Jallon; for the provinces comprised under that name, have been conquered, and were not originally subject to them. Timbo is the residence of the King and the army. I was informed, that as many as a thousand horses are to be seen there. The inhabitants are rich. All the women have silver bracelets and large gold ear-rings, and wear clothes of blue Guinea stuff, which is a sign of great luxury among these Africans. Timbo, being a military post, has not much trade: arms and contributions have enriched it. It enjoys, however, the privilege of the exclusive traffic with Kissin-Kissin and Bengala, while Labbé, the great city of the empire, trades with Kakandé and Dianfou on the river Nunez." \*

Labbé, (or Laby,) which lies about 200 miles due E. of Kakandé, (Kacundy,) was visited by Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom in 1794, in their way to Teembo, from which it is distant seventy-two miles. It is two miles and a half in circumference, and contained, they imagine, about 5000 inhabitants. From this place, there was said to exist a free communication with Timbuctoo, through the kingdoms of Baliah, Bowriah (Boori), Manding, Sego, Susundoo (Sasanding), and Jenné; a journey of four months. The country between this town and Kacundy is for the most part extremely fertile, abounding remarkably

\* Mollien, pp. 255, 6. The inhabitants retained a recollection of the journey made by Watt and Winterbottom to Timbo in 1794, in the disguise of Shereefs. "Their stratagem being discovered, they were detained fourteen days in this capital, and were then compelled to return to Sierra Leone, the Poulas being unwilling to let them penetrate further eastward."

in cattle. A considerable intercourse subsists between the higher parts of the Rio Nunez and the interior districts; and from 500 to 600 Foolahs were often met in the course of a day's journey, carrying large burdens of rice and ivory, to exchange for "that greatest of all luxuries" in these countries,—salt.\*

The kingdom of Fouta Jallon is said to extend about 350 miles from E. to W., and 200 from N. to S. It is mountainous throughout, and the soil is for the most part stony and dry; but about one-third of the country is fertile, producing rice and maize, which are cultivated by the women.† Their cattle, consisting of horses, mules, asses, sheep, and goats, are pastured on the high lands, which contain considerable

\* Murray, vol. i. p. 130. "What are you taking with you on the road to pay your expenses?" said the King of Falaba to Major Laing when proposing to proceed to the Niger. On his enumerating the articles in reply, "What," exclaimed the good-humoured monarch, "have you no tobacco?"—"No."—"No salt?"—"No."—"Alla Akbar! to think of travelling through Kooranko without tobacco and salt! They would turn you back, and would give me a bad name. They would say, I sent a white man to make fools of them. No, my white stranger, you cannot walk that country without tobacco and salt."—Laing, p. 277.

† "Fouta Diallon, properly so called, is bounded on the N. by the mountains of Tangué; on the E. by Balia and Sangarari; on the S.E. by Firia and Solimana; on the S. by Kouranko and Liban; on the W. by Tenda Maïé, and several countries inhabited by the Mandingos and the Jolas or Biafares. This country is covered with mountains throughout its whole extent; they form the second plain in proceeding from the sea-coast to the E.... and may be considered as the last links of a much more lofty chain situated to the S.E. Almost all the valleys of Fouta Diallon are but immense reservoirs which supply the sources of the rivers. In walking over them, the earth resounds under your feet.... When the first day of the rains is over, the weather continues dry for seven days; it then rains for six months, day and night. The rains proceed from the S. to the N. The rivers are not full till the maize has reached its complete growth. Fouta Diallon then resembles an immense lake."—Mollien, pp. 291—4.

quantities of iron-stone. They dig and manufacture a species of iron, which is very malleable. The mines, which are wrought by women, are extremely deep, with many long galleries, in some places high and wide, and with openings for the admission of air and light. At Laby, the inhabitants work in iron, silver, wood, and leather, as well as manufacture narrow cloths. The Mohammedan religion is professed, and there are mosques and schools in every town. On an emergency, these Foolahs, it is added, can bring into the field 16,000 cavalry. They were in the practice of making war on the *kaffir* nations, in order to obtain slaves for the European factories, as they could procure European goods in exchange for no other articles than those human chattels.\*

The Poula of Fouta Jallon, Mollien says, "is serious, sometimes melancholy : he has principles of politeness which astonished me, because they would lead us to infer that these people had already made great progress in civilization. Their knowledge of astronomy is confined to marking the hours of the months by the changes of the constellations. The Great Bear is called the Elephant. The Poula is dexterous, and takes pains with everything that he does : his productions even evince taste. His magazines are spacious. His huts, better constructed than any in this part of Western Africa, are large, airy, and closed by wide doors. Neatness prevails in the interior. These Poulas are excellent potters : it might be supposed from the appearance of their vases, that they were varnished. I have admired the elegance of their wooden porringers, which look as if they had

\* Mollien, pp. 332—4. The slaves, Mollien says, are obtained chiefly from Kankan, "a flat country inhabited by Mahometan Mandingoes.

been turned, but which are made only with the hatchet. Their works in leather and their poniards are far from equalling those of the Moors, but they have no rivals in the fabrication of bows: they also excel in the use of them. The poison in which they dip them, and which is a species of *echites*, produces terrible effects.” \*

“Sangaran, a flat country ten days’ journey from Timbo, is inhabited by Pagan Foulhas.” † This must be the Sangara of Major Laing, who describes it as a country of considerable extent, beyond the Niger, rich in cattle, horses, pasturages, and corn-fields. The inhabitants, who are subdivided into numerous petty tribes, are warlike and enterprising: their chief weapons are the bow and the spear. They are tall and well-looking, and are famous for their manufacture of cloth. ‡ We have already adverted to the circumstance of pastoral Fellatahs of light complexion being found as far eastward as Borgoo, who, in like manner, are said to be not Moslem, but Pagan. § It would appear, therefore, that the Foolah tribes have only in part submitted to the laws of the Koran; but whether their religion is the Fetishism of the negro nations, does not appear to have been ascertained.

We have thus collected all the information which we at present possess respecting a people extending

\* Mollien, pp. 297, 8. Several of these circumstances mark their affinity to the Fellatahs of Major Denham.

† *Ibid.* p. 301.

‡ Laing, pp. 371, 2. In the MS. account of Takroor, there is a description, apparently, of the same country, under the name of *Sangree*. “It is extensive, very fertile, and well peopled. Its inhabitants are remnants of the Sonhaja, the wandering Arabs, and the Felateen. They profess the Mohammedan faith, and their princes ruled them always with equity.”—Denham, vol. ii. p. 456.

§ See page 347 of vol. ii.



from the Senegal to the Niger, who, next perhaps to the Tuaricks, seem the most interesting of all the African nations. Under what great division of the human family they must be classed, our imperfect knowledge does not enable us to determine. In complexion and features, they seem to approach the nearest to the Mauritians. Their language is, however, strikingly different from the harsh and guttural Ertana or Berber tongue, and not less remote from the Arabic. It seems to have nothing in common with either the Joloff or Mandingo languages on the one hand, or with the Kanowy and Youribanee on the other. It is singular, that a tradition should exist, which refers the origin of some of the tribes inhabiting Melli or the Foolah country, to the Persians.\* To that nation, the Fellatah can bear no affinity; but all further speculation respecting their origin must, in the present state of our knowledge, be no better than random

\* "Next to Sanghee, on the west side, and north of Barghoo, the country of *Malee* is situated. It is a very extensive province, and inhabited by the Soodan, who, it is said, originated from the remnants of the Copts of Egypt. Among its inhabitants are found some of the Towrooth, the Falateen, the Arabs, the Jews, and the Christians. It is likewise supposed, that their origin was from Sarankaly, or the Persians. It contains a gold mine, and has an anchorage or harbour for ships sent by two Christian sovereigns since former periods. This country has always been in a flourishing state from time immemorial. It embraces the province of Banbara, which is very extensive, and contains rivers, forests, and a gold mine. The Soodan who inhabit it are very powerful, and to this time are infidels. Near to Banbara, there is the province of the Towrooth, and that of Foota, which are extensive, and inhabited by their own people and by those of Sarankaly, or Persians. The Towrooth nation, it is said, originated from the Jews; others say, from the Christians; and others make them to be the descendants of the Soudan of Banbara."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 456. The word here rendered Persians, is, probably, *Ajem*, which is applied by the Arabians to the countries of the African coast opposite to Arabia, from Souakin to Barbara.—See Burckhardt, p. 316.

conjecture. All that appears certain, is, that they are not the aboriginal inhabitants of the tracts they now occupy ; that the course of their emigrations has been from the north-westward ; that their original habits are pastoral ; and that they are altogether distinct from any nations of the negro family. To these particulars may be added, with great apparent probability, that they have, within a comparatively recent period, risen into consideration and power, and only since they have embraced the Mohammedan faith, which is gradually effecting the downfall of all the *kaffir* empires. The process by which this revolution has been carried forward, seems to be this. The spirit of commercial adventure, which is not less native or powerful in the Moor and Arab, than in the Christian merchant, first brings a few enterprising Mohammedans into contact with the *kaffir* nations. The "true believers," in the humble guise of peaceful traders, are for a time content to secure the protection of the Pagan sovereigns into whose dominions they have penetrated ; and thus they become the pioneers of civilization. After a time, their growing wealth gives them influence in the city or community to which they have attached themselves ; and they draw round them others of their countrymen or professors of the same faith. Mosques and schools now rise, the fruit and sign of their growing wealth ; and priests and learned men share in the harvest of mercantile industry. At length, perhaps, the king, or the chief minister, becomes a Mussulman, while the infidels and the Moslem still continue to live peaceably together ; till some sheikh, or maraboot, or almamy, availing himself of his spiritual authority for purposes of ambition, proclaims himself the head and leader of

his nation, and obtains an easy conquest over the feeble barbarous despotisms or petty states of the negro countries.\*

The Mohammedan faith does not, however, appear to have established itself at any time, as the exclusive or dominant religion of the natives of Soudan; and the extent of its prevalence is tolerably well ascertained by the corresponding diffusion of the Arabic language. In the vocabularies of the Bornoway and the language of Waday, a number of Arabic words occur, chiefly relating to the subjects of religious belief or natural productions.† In the Fellatah, there appear to be very few Arabic words. The Moorish Arabic is spoken in Senegal, and, together with the Kissour language, at Timbuctoo.‡ The latter city, situated near the northern extremity of

\* Speaking of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Galam, Major Gray says: "These people, from a state of paganism, are progressively embracing the Mohammedan faith.... Some towns are wholly inhabited by priests, who are by far the most wealthy and respectable members of the community."—Gray, p. 266. M. Mollien makes the same report respecting the kingdom of Cayor. Mohammedism, he says, "is making daily progress, and will soon become the only religion of the country of Cayor. The court alone remains attached to a paganism more favourable to the passions." The public schools kept by the Maraboos, and frequented by all children, the great influence possessed by the Mohammedan priests, whose persons are held in superstitious reverence, and the prevalence of circumcision even among the pagan Joloffs, are assigned as the chief causes of the rapid extension of Islamism among these people.—Mollien, p. 61.

† See Burckhardt's *Nubia*, p. 446. *Allah* has been of course adopted, but not, it would seem, to the exclusion of the native word for the Deity, which is, in Bornouese, *Kamande*; in Waday, *Kalak*; in Fellatah, *Diomirao*.

‡ A vocabulary of the Timbuctoo dialect is given by Lyon, p. 146. M. Caillé calls it the Kissour; and he has brought home a vocabulary, which we have not had an opportunity of comparing with that of the former Traveller.

Nigritia, was, in fact, at one time, tributary to the Emperor of Morocco. But, as a mercantile language, the Arabic has never been in use in Soudan.

The name of Soudan (that is, Nigritia or the Black Country) properly denotes, according to Captain Lyon, only the country near the great river, where it runs east and west; extending from the borders of Timbuctoo, westward, to Kano, eastward. The name is also given to the river, implying the black water; and it seems not unlikely that the river, rather than the complexion of the people, originally gave its name to the country. By the Arabs, it is also styled *Ber-el-Abeed*, the land of slaves. All the natives agree in calling it Houssa or Haousa, and the language of the country is called the Haousa tongue. It bears no resemblance to the Fellatah.\* Afnoo is another name applied to the same country, but seems to be properly that of a city considerably to the N. of Timbuctoo. The geographical account compiled by order of Sultan Bello, comprises not merely Soudan, but the whole of Central Africa, from Dar Foor to Bambarra inclusive, under the appellation of *Belled-el-Tak-roor*. The city of that name (the Tocrur or Tekrour of Edrisi and Ibn-el-Vardi) appears to have been the seat of a powerful empire in the twelfth century, and the centre of the commerce afterwards transferred to Timbuctoo. Edrisi describes it as standing on the southern bank of the Nile (the Niger), two days' journey from Salla, as well by the river as by land, and forty days from Segelmessa. The country in which it stands, he calls Meczara. Salla is described as a populous city on the north side of the Nile, abounding with the best merchandises of the

\* Lyon, p. 149.



negroes.\* “This place,” continues the Arabian Geographer, “is in the dominion of the King of Tocrur, who is a mighty prince, having many servants and soldiers, of known fortitude, power, and justice, with a country well secured, and exposed to no fears. His chief seat and place of residence is the city Tocrur..... which is larger than that of Salla, and more abounding with commerce. The remotest inhabitants of the West bring thither *shells*† and brass, and carry from thence gold and bracelets for the legs. The diet at Tocrur and Salla is a kind of large-grained millet, fish, and a preparation of milk : their cattle are chiefly camels and goats. The common people wear hair garments and woollen caps, but the dress of the nobi-

\* “Sala is a place three days from Tombuctoo, on the Nil, to the eastward.”—Lyon, p. 148.

† These must be the cowrie-shells, the currency of all the countries between Mandingo and Bornou, as it was formerly that of India. Ibn Batuta, in the fourteenth century, mentions them, in his account of the Maldive Islands, under the name of *wada*. “This,” he says, “is the *wada* which is so abundant in India; it is carried from these islands to the province of Bengal, and there also passes instead of coin.”—Lee’s Ibn Batuta, p. 178. Major Rennell says: “I am informed from authority, that about 100 tons of kowries are annually shipped from England alone to Guinea. These are originally imported from the Maldive Islands into Bengal; and from Bengal into England. In Bengal, 2400 (more or less) are equal to one shilling; but, in the inland parts of Africa, they are about ten times as dear, varying from 220 to 280; being cheaper at Tombuctoo, which is about the *centre* of the kowry country; dearer at Manding, which is the western extremity of it. Hence, they are probably carried in the first instance to Tombuctoo, the gold-market, and thence distributed east and west.”—Park’s Trav., App., vol. i. p. 451. The fact of a sea-shell from Bengal forming the currency of Central Africa, and exchanged against gold, a century before the Portuguese had doubled Cape Non, is highly curious, indicating a commercial connexion between India and Africa, through the medium of Malay and Arab traders.

lity is a cotton vest and a mantle.”\* Berissa, situated eastward on the Nile at the distance of twelve stages, and at the same distance from the great city of Ghana,† was also subject to the King of Tocrur. The sovereign of Ghana was a Mohammedan of the purest Arabian pedigree, and the inhabitants also were reported to be Moslem; but the religion of the sovereign

\* In Murray, vol. ii. p. 520.

† “In Ghana are two cities, situated on the two opposite shores of what they call a fresh-water sea; and it is the largest, most populous, and wealthiest in all the negro countries; and thither the rich merchants resort, not only from all the neighbouring regions, but also from the remotest parts of the west.... The king hath a palace, which is a strong and well-fortified structure on the bank of the Nile, with apartments adorned with various sculptures, paintings, and glass windows. The aforesaid palace was built in A.H. 510 (A.D. 1100). And it is certain that there is in the palace of the king, an entire lump of gold, not cast, nor wrought by any instruments, but perfectly formed by the Divine Providence alone, of thirty pounds weight, which has been bored through and fitted for a seat to the royal throne... He (the king) generally wears a habit of satin, or a black mantle, after the Arabian fashion, with drawers, and leathern sandals.... The country of Ghana is joined on the western side with the kingdom of Meczara; on the E., with that of Vancara; on the N., with the broadest desert lying between the countries of the Blacks and Barbary; on the S., it joins to the Infidel's country, to wit, that of Lamlam and other inhabitants.”—Murray, vol. ii. pp. 523, 4. See also Ibn al Vardi, *Ib.* 530. The inhabitants are stated to have long boats on the river; and the king is described as having numerous troops with elephants, cameleopards, and other animals, to adorn his state. Major Rennell, in the absence of better information, places Ghana in latitude  $16^{\circ} 10' N.$ , longitude  $13^{\circ} 2' E.$ , which would be in the heart of the desert of Tintuma. We seem to have the name in Kano, the present emporium of Haussa. But there can, we think, be little doubt, that Old Birnie is the Ghana of Edrisi, and that the Gambarou has been confounded with the Quorra.—See p. 233 of our second volume. The site of this once famous capital, which seems better to have deserved the name of city than any other in Central Africa, answers very nearly to Rennell's longitude, but is in the parallel of  $13^{\circ}$ . Meczara must be Soudan,

of Tocrur is not specified, and he was probably an infidel. Early in the fifteenth century, the city is described by another Arabian geographer as inhabited partly by Moslem, partly by infidels. "The former," it is added, "rule; and the king is a Mussulman." \* It seems to have then greatly declined from its former importance. Ibn Batuta, the great Mohammedan traveller, who explored these countries in the preceding century, makes no mention of Takroor among the cities on the Niger, but speaks of Timbuctoo as a city of merchants, subject to the Sultan of Mali.† At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the latter city appears to have become the principal mart of the gold trade of Melli, Bambouk, and Mandingo.‡ It never seems, however, to have been the seat of a powerful empire; and the exaggerated accounts of its splendour and extent, have evidently arisen from the vague ideas connected with this mysterious emporium of the hidden treasures of the African El Dorado,—the *Belled el Tibbr*, or land of gold.

\* The city is described by this writer, Ibn al Vardi, as large, but without walls; and contrary to Edrisi's account, the inhabitants are stated to be without clothing, except the higher ranks of Moslem, who wore cloaks.—See Murray, vol. ii. p. 532. It is probably the *Tucuroi* of the early Portuguese navigators.

† "I travelled from Mali," says Ibn Batuta (Feb. 1353), "and came to a gulf which branches out of the Nile, and upon the banks of which there were very large beasts" (hippopotami)... "After some days, I arrived at the city of Tambactu, the greater part of the inhabitants of which are merchants from Latham, which is a district of Mali. Here is also a black magistrate, on the part of the Sultan of Mali. I next arrived at the city of Kawkaw (Kauga?), which is large and one of the most beautiful in Soudan. They here transact business with the cowrie, like the inhabitants of Mali."—Lee's Ibn Batuta, p. 241.

‡ See Description of the Gold Trade of Tombuctoo, from the Italian of Cadamosto, A.D. 1507.—Murray, vol. ii. p. 533.

## TIMBUCTOO.

THE whole mystery, however, which has so long hung over this place, is now at an end. The accounts given by Adams and Sidi Hamet, though suspected of inaccuracy, served greatly to abate the high-raised expectations of Moorish magnificence, which had previously been entertained respecting this city.

The account given of this city by the latter, a Moorish merchant, is as follows :—

“ Timbuctoo is a very large city, five times as great as Swearah (Suera or Mogodore). It is built on a level plain, surrounded on all sides with hills, except on the south, where the plain continues to the bank of the same river, which is wide and deep, and runs to the east. We were obliged to go to it, to water our camels; and there we saw many boats made of great trees, some with negroes in them paddling across the river. The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, like the towns and houses in Suse, only a great deal thicker.\* The house of the king is very large and high, like the largest house in Mogadore, but built of the same materials as the walls. There are a great many more houses in the city built of stone, with shops on one side, where they sell salt, and knives, and blue cloth, and *haicks*, and an abundance of other things, with many gold ornaments. The inhabitants are blacks, and the chief is a very large, grey-headed, old, black man, who is called *Shegar*, which means sultan, or king. The principal part of the houses are made with large reeds, as thick as a man's arm, which stand upon their ends, and are covered with small reeds first, and then with the

\* Adams stated, that the city has no walls, nor any thing resembling fortification.



leaves of the date-tree ; they are round, and the tops come to a point like a heap of stones. Neither the *Shegar* nor his people are Moslem ; but there is a town divided off from the principal one, in one corner, by a strong partition wall, with one gate to it, which leads from the main town, like the Jews' town, or *Millah*, in Mogadore : all the Moors or Arabs who have liberty to come into Timbuctoo, are obliged to sleep in that part of it every night, or to go out of the city entirely. No stranger is allowed to enter that *Millah*, without leaving his knife with the gate-keeper ; but, when he comes out in the morning, it is restored to him. The people who live in that part are all Moslem. The negroes, bad Arabs, and Moors are all mixed together, and intermarry, as if they were all of one colour ; they have no property of consequence, except a few asses ; their gate is shut and fastened every night at dark, and very strongly guarded both by night and by day. The *Shegar*, or king, is always guarded by one hundred men on mules, armed with good guns, and one hundred men on foot, with guns and long knives. He would not go into the *Millah*, and we saw him only four or five times in the two moons we stayed at Timbuctoo, waiting for the caravan :—but it had perished on the desert ; neither did the yearly caravan from Tunis and Tripoli arrive, for it had also been destroyed.

“The city of Timbuctoo is very rich, as well as very large ; it has four gates to it ; all of them are opened in the day-time, but very strongly guarded and shut at night. The negro women are very fat and handsome, and wear large, round gold rings in their noses, and flat ones in their ears, and gold chains and amber beads about their necks, with images and white fish-bones, bent round, and the ends fastened together,

hanging down between their breasts; they have bracelets on their wrists and on their ancles, and go barefoot. I had bought a small snuff-box, filled with snuff, in Morocco, and shewed it to the women in the principal street of Timbuctoo, which is very wide. There were a great number about me in a few minutes, and they insisted on buying my snuff and box:—one made me one offer, and another made me another, until one who wore richer ornaments than the rest, told me, in broken Arabic, that she would take off all she had about her, and give them to me for the box and its contents. I agreed to accept them; and she pulled off her nose-rings and ear-rings, all her neck-chains, with their ornaments, and the bracelets from her wrists and ancles, and gave them to me in exchange for it. These ornaments would weigh more than a pound, and were made of solid gold at Timbuctoo; and I kept them through my whole journey afterwards, and carried them to my wife, who now wears a part of them.

“Timbuctoo carries on a great trade with all the caravans that come from Morocco and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. From Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. are brought all kinds of cloths, iron, salt, muskets, powder and lead, swords, or scimitars, tobacco, opium, spices and perfumes, amber beads and other trinkets, with a few more articles. They carry back, in return, elephants’ teeth, gold dust, and wrought gold, gum senegal, ostrich feathers, very curiously worked turbans, and slaves; a great many of the latter, and many other articles of less importance. The slaves are brought in from the south-west, all strongly ironed, and are sold very cheap; so that a good stout man may be bought for a *haick*, which costs in the empire of Morocco about two dollars.

The caravans stop and encamp about two miles from the city, in a deep valley, and the negroes do not molest them. They bring their merchandise near the walls of the city, where the inhabitants purchase all their goods in exchange for the above-mentioned articles; not more than fifty men from any one caravan being allowed to enter the city at a time, and they must go out before others [are permitted] to enter. This city also carries on a great trade with Wassanah, (a city far to the south-east,) in all the articles that are brought to it by caravans, and gets returns in slaves, elephants' teeth, gold, &c. The principal male inhabitants are clothed with blue cloth shirts, that reach from their shoulders down to their knees, and are very wide, and girt about their loins with a red and brown cotton sash or girdle. They also hang about their bodies, pieces of different coloured cloth and silk handkerchiefs. The king is dressed in a white robe, of a similar fashion, but covered with white and yellow gold and silver plates, that glitter in the sun. He has also many other shining ornaments of shells and stones hanging about him, wears a pair of breeches like the Moors and Barbary Jews, and has a kind of white turban on his head, pointing up, and strung with different kinds of ornaments. His feet are covered with red morocco shoes. He has no other weapon about him than a large white staff or sceptre, with a golden lion on the head of it, which he carries in] his hand. His countenance is mild, and he seems to govern his subjects more like a father than a king. All but the king go bareheaded. The poor have only a single piece of blue or other cloth about them. The inhabitants are very numerous; I think six times as many as in Swearah, besides Arabs and other Mohammedans in their Millah, or separate town, which

must contain nearly as many people as there are altogether in Swearah.\* The women are clothed in a light shirt, or under-dress, and over it a green, red, or blue covering, from the bosom to below the knees; the whole girt about their waists with a red girdle. They stain their cheeks and foreheads red or yellow on some occasions; and the married women wear a kind of hood on their heads, made of blue cloth or silk, and cotton handkerchiefs of different kinds and colours, and go barefooted.

“The king and people of Timbuctoo do not fear, and worship God like the Moslem; but, like the people of Soudan, they only pray one time in twenty-four hours, when they see the moon; and when she is not seen, they do not pray at all. They cannot read or write, but are honest. They circumcise their children like the Arabs. They have no mosques, but dance every night, as the Moors and Arabs pray.”†

\* Mogodore is stated to contain above 36,000 souls, that is, 30,000 Moors, and 6,000 Jews. This calculation would make Timbuctoo to contain 216,000 inhabitants; an obvious exaggeration.

† Riley's Tombuctoo, pp. 363—9. From Timbuctoo, Sidi Hamet proceeded, with about 200 other Moslem, to a large city called Wassanah, a place he had never before heard of. For the first six days, they travelled over a plain within sight of the Joliba, in a direction a little to the S. of E., till they came to a small town, called Bimbinah, where the river is turned more to the S. E. by a high mountain to the E. They now left the river, and pursued a direction more to the southward, through a hilly and woody country (Borgoo?) for fifteen days, and then came to the river again. The route wound with the river for three days in a S. E. direction; and then they had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, thickly covered with high trees, which took up six days: from the summit, a large chain of high mountains was seen to the westward. On descending from this ridge, they came immediately to the river's bank, where it was very narrow and full of rocks. For the next twelve days, they kept on in a direction generally S. E., but winding, with the river almost every day in sight, and crossed many small streams flowing into it. High



The information collected by Captain Lyon, was to the same effect. Several of the merchants agreed, that Timbuctoo is not more extensive than Morzouk. "It is walled; the houses are very low, and, with the exception of one or two small streets, are built irregularly. Huts of mats seem to be in greater numbers than the houses.\* Timbuctoo is governed by a sultan, who has but little power. The people are all blacks, and dress like the natives of many parts of Soudan; the better class in shirts and trowsers, while the poorer order are nearly naked. Gold, cotton cloths, leather, and arms, are the principal manufactures. Kabra, which is its port, is situated about 12 miles to the south of it. It is, more properly, a collection of store-houses than a town; the few people residing there, being employed to take care of the cargoes of vessels.

mountains were plainly seen on the western side. They then came to a ferry, and beyond that travelled fifteen days more, mostly in sight of the river; till, at length, after fifty-seven days' travelling, (not reckoning the halts,) they reached Wassanah. This city stands near the bank of the Joliba, which runs past it nearly S. between high mountains on both sides, and is so wide that they could hardly distinguish a man on the other side. The walls are very large, built of great stones, much thicker and stronger than those of Timbuctoo, with four gates. It took a day to walk round them. The city has twice as many inhabitants as Timbuctoo; the principal people are well dressed, but all are negroes and kaffirs. They have boats made of great trees hollowed out, which will hold from fifteen to twenty negroes; and in these, they descend the river for *three moons* to the great water, and traffic with "pale people, who live in great boats, and have guns as big as their bodies."—Riley, pp. 370—7. This great water is supposed to be the Atlantic; and, as the distance of three moons must be not less than about 2500 miles, it has been supposed that the Niger must communicate with the Congo. If so, it must be, doubtless, by intermediate rivers. But the account requires to be corroborated by more distinct information.

\* A private letter from Major Laing, (the last received from him,) states, that Timbuctoo had every way answered his expectations, except as to its size, which does not exceed four miles in circumference.

The Joliba, or Nil, is here very broad, and flows slowly past from the westward. In the dry season, a camel may pass over it without swimming; but, after the rains, it becomes very deep, rapid, and dangerous.’’\*

The first European traveller who succeeded in penetrating to Timbuctoo, was the unfortunate Major Laing, who reached that city in 1826, and resided there for two months, but was assassinated, on his homeward route through the desert, by an Arab chief, who had undertaken to escort him in safety as far as Arawan.† An enterprising Frenchman, M. Caillé, has been more fortunate. Setting out on the 19th of April, 1827, from Kakondy, the tomb of Major Peddie and of Major Campbell, M. Caillé crossed the Senegal at Bafila, and afterwards the Joliba, and proceeded to Kankan, the chief town in the country of the same name, which is enriched by the vicinity of the gold mines of Bourri. Here he resided for some time, and then accompanied a caravan of Mandingo merchants about 200 miles E. beyond the Soulimana, to the village of Timé, where he arrived on the 3rd of August. At this place, he was detained for five months by a dangerous illness, which he attributes to the inclemency of the climate, and the hardships he had undergone in crossing the steep

\* Lyon, pp. 145, 6.

† M. Caillé states, that the only chance of escaping death is by professing Mohammedism; and that Major Laing fell a victim to his scruples. His fate, he says, was a familiar topic of conversation at Timbuctoo, where his refusal to abjure his religion, created some interest, as it led to his destruction. This does not appear to have been the case. From the Shiekh, Seid Ali Boubokar, Major Laing met with a very hospitable and kind reception at Timbuctoo; and if Barbooshi, his murderer, acted by orders, they were probably dictated by mercantile jealousy on the part of the Foulah lord of Massina, who had directed the Shiekh to expel the Christian from the country.

mountains of Fouta Jallon. On the 9th of January, he again set forward in a northerly direction, and after passing by more than a hundred villages, fell in with the Joliba, at Galia, on the 10th of March, and crossed an arm of it, to proceed to Jenné. At this place he stayed thirteen days, and then embarked upon the Great River in a large bark, which formed part of a mercantile flotilla. It was the season when the water is low. In some places, the river was a mile in breadth, in others, much narrower; and the rapidity of its current varied accordingly. It is sometimes divided by islands, and receives several tributary streams. At length, on the 19th of April, he arrived at Kabra, the port of Timbuctoo, and, on the next day, made his entry into that town. Here he remained till the 4th of May, when he availed himself of the opportunity of joining a caravan of 800 camels, which was setting out for Morocco. On the 23d of July, he reached Tafilet; and on the 14th of September, arrived in safety at Tangiers, where the French Consul provided for his security, and succeeded in saving him from the danger which he would have incurred, had he been recognized under his Mohammedan disguise. The narrative of his travels has not yet been given to the public; but the Geographical Society of Paris, from the report of whose proceedings these particulars are extracted, have conferred on this fortunate Traveller the well-earned prize offered to the first person who should arrive at Timbuctoo from Senegambia. "It is a great thing," remarks the Special Committee appointed to examine M. Caillé's claims, "for a man to have at length succeeded in dissolving the species of enchantment which appeared to strike every European who has attempted to reach this mysterious point of the Dioliba (Joliba). The service

rendered to science by M. Caillé, will obtain him the thanks of its friends, if they are not entirely consoled by his success for the deplorable loss of Major Laing.\*

With reference, however, to the commercial importance of Timbuctoo, it has justly been remarked, that the circumstance which has been the foundation of its importance to the traders of Barbary, and consequently of much of its fame among us,—its frontier situation on the verge of the desert, and at the northern limit of the negro population,—will of necessity have a contrary operation, now that more direct and securer channels for European enterprise into the Interior from the south-western coast, have been opened by the enterprise of recent Travellers.†

It is understood, that M. Caillé's report respecting the course of the Joliba, tends to confirm the accuracy of Major Laing's observation respecting the position of its source. Although the latter did not actually reach the spot, the point from which it issues was shewn to him, at the distance of only a good day's march; and he considers that it may, with little fear of error, be placed in latitude  $9^{\circ} 25' N.$ , longitude  $9^{\circ} 45' W.$ , the elevation being about 1600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. At its source, the river bears the appellation of *Tembie*, which signifies water, in the Kissi language. It runs due N. for many miles, to Kang-kang (Kankan), the course being marked by a ridge of hills which branch off at right angles from the chain running eastward from Sierra

\* Literary Gazette, Jan. 3, 1829. M. Caillé has brought home drawings of two mosques and other buildings in this famous capital, taken at the imminent risk of discovery and punishment.

† "Timbuctoo produces no gold, it being only the great market where all the *Gaffles* (*Kafilas*) from the N. and E., meet those of the S. and W."—Clapperton, p. 202.



Leone. On entering Kang-kang, the river takes a more easterly direction, and assumes the names of *Ba-ba* and *Joli-ba* (i.e. large river), which it preserves to Sego, Jinne, and Timbuctoo.\* The name of *Quorra* (*Quolla*, *Kowara*), which it afterwards assumes, appears to have the same meaning. From Sego to Boussa, the general course of the river is known; and so far, Mr. Park ascertained that it was navigable. It continues to flow in a S.S.E. direction as far as the parallel of  $8^{\circ}$ , where, without reckoning its windings, it has already reached a distance of nearly 1500 geographical miles from its source: its extreme northern point is in about latitude  $15^{\circ}$ . But, supposing the slope of its bed to be equal to that of the Ganges and the Amazons, (and it is probably not so rapid as either,) that is to say, four inches in a mile, this would still leave an elevation, at Funda, of about 1000 feet, which would admit of a sufficient inclination to enable its waters to reach Sennaar, and join the Abyssinian Nile.†

One of the most remarkable features in African geography, is the fact, that the only known rivers north of the line, except those which flow down the declivities of Atlas, appear to have their origin between the parallels of  $11^{\circ}$  and  $8^{\circ}$ ; and that those of Soudan, which ultimately reach the Mediterranean, originate in the same groupe of mountains with those

\* Laing, pp. 325–8.

† See Quarterly Review, No. xlv. p. 479. The writer of this article fixes upon 2800 feet as the elevation which would be required for the source of the Niger, to carry it through Soudan and Egypt into the Mediterranean, with a current equal to that of the Ganges or the Amazons. But, as neither the current of the Niger nor of the Nile is of equal strength to that of the Indian and American streams, even this elevation, it is added, would not be required. Add to which, Major Laing's estimate of the height of its source can be considered only as an approximation, and is probably under the truth.

which discharge themselves into the Atlantic. Soudan may be described as a vast oblong basin, shut in between the high table-land of the desert on the north, and the granite mountains which stretch across the whole continent on the south ; its head, on the west, formed by the cluster which fills up the Foolah and Mandingo countries ; while the highlands of Abyssinia, presenting a groupe corresponding to those of Senegambia, form the termination of the basin on the east. Here, however, instead of the elevated plains of the Sahara, the collected waters find a longitudinal valley, presenting a gently inclined plane towards the north ; through which that portion which escapes evaporation, is poured into the Mediterranean,

It appears to be now ascertained, that the three great rivers of the western coast, the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande, have all their sources very close to each other, in a groupe of mountains a short distance to the N.W. of Teembo in Fouta Jallon ; \* while that of the Joliba is within one degree of latitude to the south, and less than two degrees to the east. M. Mollien's account represents the Gambia (called the *Ba Diman*) and the Rio Grande (*Comba*), as springing from the same basin amid high mountains. On quitting this basin, these rivers pursue their course towards opposite points, and both finally discharge themselves into the Atlantic, at the distance from each other of fifty leagues. The

\* According to Mollien, who places the source of the Ba Fing, the middle branch of the Senegal, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 10'$  N., longitude  $11^{\circ} 18'$  W. ; that of the Falemé, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 20'$  N., longitude  $11^{\circ}$  W. ; that of the Gambia, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 30'$  N., longitude  $11^{\circ} 15'$  W. ; and that of the Rio Grande, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 37'$  N., longitude  $11^{\circ} 17'$  W. The correctness of M. Mollien's statements are confirmed by M. Caillé, who crossed his route,

*Comba*, after receiving the *Tomine* or *Dongo*, assumes the appellation of *Kaboo*.\* On the other side of the same mountains, are the sources of the Falemé and the Senegal, but at some distance apart, and separated by a branch of the great chain of Fouta Jallon. The former, at its source, and during great part of its course, bears the name of *Tené* or *Tenyah*.

The following is M. Mollien's description of the sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande. On leaving the village of Toulon, his guide led him in a western direction by bye-paths in the lofty mountains called *Badet*. "We at length," he continues, "arrived at the summit of one of these heights: it was entirely bare, so that we could discover below us two thickets, the one concealing from view the sources of the Gambia, the other those of the Rio Grande.....Continuing in a western direction, we rapidly descended the ferruginous mountain, the summit of which we had been traversing since sun-rise, and arrived in a beautiful valley. On the right and left appeared small villages; the ground was covered with high and thick dry grass; not a stone was to be seen on it. Two thickets, which shaded the sources, the objects of my search, rose in the midst of this plain, which drought had despoiled of its verdure. At the moment that I saw the Rio Grande, it slowly rolled along its turbid waters. At about 300 paces from the source, they were clearer, and fit to drink. Its source gushes from the bosom of the earth, and runs N.N.E., passing over rocks. Ali informed me, that, in the rainy season, two ravines hollowed in the neighbouring hill, then dry, which terminate at the source, conduct thither two torrents, which increase its current. At

\* The name of *Kaboo* is also given to the country between the Rio Grande, the Gambia, and the Geba river.

some leagues distance from the place where it springs from the ground, and beyond the valley, the river changes its direction, and runs to the west.

“ Proceeding S.S.E. in the same meadow, Ali stamped upon the ground, and the earth echoed in a frightful manner. ‘ Underneath,’ said he, ‘ are the reservoirs of the two rivers: the noise thou hearest, proceeds from their being empty.’ After walking about 1300 paces, we reached the wood which concealed the source of the Gambia. I forced my way through the thorny bushes which grew between the trees, and obtained a sight of it. This spring, like the other, was not abundant: it issues from beneath a kind of arch in the middle of the wood, and forms two branches. One, running S.S.W., stops at a little distance on account of the equality of the ground: the other runs down a gentle declivity, and takes a S.S.E. direction. At its exit from the wood, and even 600 paces further, it is only 3 feet broad..... The valley in which the sources are situated, forms a kind of funnel, having no other outlets than the two defiles by which the rivers run off. Man has never dared to use the axe in the woods which overshadow these two springs, because the natives believe them to be inhabited by spirits. Their reverence for these places is carried to such a pitch, that they are careful not to enter them; and if any one had seen me penetrate within them, I should infallibly have been put to death.\* From the situation of these two sources, in a

\* Major Laing states, that the source of the Niger, which is looked upon in the negro world as the largest river in the universe, is the object of similar veneration. “ It is said, that, although not more than half a yard in diameter at its source, if any one was to attempt to leap over it, he would fall into the spring, and be instantly swallowed up; but that a person may step over it quietly without danger; also, that it is forbidden to take water from the



basin between high mountains covered with ferruginous stones and cinders, and almost entirely destitute of verdure, I am led to conjecture that they occupy the crater of an extinct volcano. The ground which resounded under my feet, probably covers one of the abysses whence the fiery eruptions issued." \*

The sources of the Falemé are near the village of Courbari, to the S.E. On leaving that village, our Traveller had to wade through a morass, up to his waist in water, and then to force a path through the woods. "After proceeding for an hour to the N.N.W.," he says, "we arrived at the source of the Falemé, called *Tené* by the Poulas. I should never have discovered it without a guide; for, at this moment, it was very low. It is situated, like the sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande, in a basin surrounded with mountains. The Falemé rises at the foot of a hillock, situated to the west, in an open spot. It runs to the south, and at a very short distance enters a very thick wood. At 900 paces lower, it receives the river *Boié*; then, making a curve, it turns northward, and enters Dentilia. The mountains which encircle the funnel whence it issues, contain iron mines; and the neighbouring villages carry on a great trade in that metal. Some of these mountains, like those in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, are composed of bare, ferruginous rocks:

spring, and that any one who attempts it, will have the calabash wrested from his hand by an invisible power, and perhaps lose his arm."—Laing, p. 326.

\* Mollien, pp. 233—6. "The appearance of the mountains of Niokolo and Bandaia," this Traveller says, "proves this country to be volcanic. Earthquakes are very frequent; one had been felt two months previously to my arrival, the shocks of which had extended to Teembo. The mountain to the north of Bandaia, which is covered with ashes, is often shaken."—*Id.* p. 226, .

ashes of the same kind appear in the cavities of their summits, and clumps of trees are seen at intervals." \*

About a league from its source, the Falemé is nearly 80 paces broad, running over a bed of sand and flints.

Lastly, the source of the Senegal is thus described. "We halted for the night at Dalaba, a village (on the bank of the Senegal) inhabited by Mandingoes from Kankan.....Proceeding to the north, we traversed a fertile plain watered by the Senegal, and crossed the river, the shallow current of which flowed over a bed of sand and flints. We then began to climb a very steep mountain. We were still far from the summit, when Ali, suddenly stopping, shewed us on our left, at a little distance from our track, a thicket of tufted trees, which concealed the sources from our view. Stealing along the mountain, I reached this thick wood, into which the rays of the sun had never penetrated, and crossed the Senegal, which could not be so much as four feet broad. Ascending the stream, I perceived two basins, one above the other, from which the water gushed forth; and still higher, a third, which was only humid, as well as the channel that led to the basin immediately below it. The Negroes consider the upper basin as the principal source of the river. These three springs were situated about the middle of the side of the mountain. In the rainy season, two ponds, at equal distances above the upper source, supply it with water by two deep channels. The Senegal, called *Baleo* (Black River) in the Poulah language,† and *Bafing* in Mandingo, which has the same signification, or *Foura*, which means simply

\* Mollien, pp. 245, 6.

† In Captain Lyon's vocabulary of Fellatah words, Black is *Balaijiu*; River is *Lana*; Water, *Ghium*. *Baleo* is given by Mollien in his vocabulary, as the Foolah word for Black.

the river, runs at first from N. to S.; then passes at a little distance to the S. of Timbo, and afterwards pursues a western direction.\*

The Senegal, owing to its bearing among the natives the name of Black River, was long mistaken by European geographers for the Niger of the ancients. It was reserved for Mungo Park to discover, in his first journey, the true Niger in the Joliba; as well as to make us acquainted with the Mandingo countries lying between that river, the Senegal, and the Gambia. It was on the 21st of July, 1796, as he drew near to Sego, the capital of Bambarra, that this lamented Traveller beheld with infinite pleasure the great object of his mission,—“the long sought for, majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward.”† Although Major Houghton had collected information which left little doubt of its having a course “towards the rising sun,” no European had ever obtained ocular demonstration of the fact; and Mr. Park had left England under the belief that it ran in the contrary direction. The furthest point eastward, which he reached in his first journey, was Silla, a town on the eastern bank, two short days from Jenne. The fatal termination of his second expedition has already been noticed. It is not a little remarkable, that he should have perished in the very stream whose secret he was the first to unravel.

The plan and limits of this work will not admit of our giving in detail the personal narratives of the

\* Mollien, 261—3. This Author's florid style and occasional rodomontade awaken suspicions of his accuracy, which are, perhaps, unfounded. His general veracity and correctness seem to be admitted.

† Park, vol. i. p. 190.

various Travellers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of Western Africa. Interesting as is the story of their adventures, the topographical information they supply is, for the most part, too vague and even contradictory to answer the purpose of scientific geography; and a general description of these negro countries is all that seems due to their intrinsic importance. We begin with the groupe of countries to which modern geographers have given the name of

### SENEGAMBIA.

THAT part of the western coast of Africa, usually distinguished by this name, comprised between the parallels of  $8^{\circ}$  and  $20^{\circ}$ , is for the most part flat and sandy, and exposed to the most intense heats that are known in any part of the globe. The heights which form Cape Verd, and some hills near Joal, alone break this uniformity; the left bank of the Sierra Leone river also presents a very considerable elevation, forming the prolongation of the mountains which extend from the interior. The whole of this region, proceeding from the coast eastward, presents three distinctly marked divisions. The first, which is 35 leagues broad opposite to Arguin, and which narrows to the south till it terminates on the coast at Cachao, is composed of a flat and sandy soil, almost without stones, and may be considered as the prolongation of the Sahara.\* The second, which is 40 leagues wide, and ends at the mouth of the Rio Nunez, consists of a soil half sandy, half argillaceous, very smooth, and almost without stones. The third, extending as far as the

\* The elevation of the Sahara, however, both on the north and south, is stated to be much above the level of the cultivated country.—See Riley, p. 379. Whether there is a descent from the Sahara to the western coast, does not appear to be ascertained.



first terrace of the mountains, is 60 leagues broad, and terminates at the river of Sierra Leone : the soil is argillaceous, hilly, and stony.

From this line, which is winding, and which, as it runs north, curves towards the west, the country is mountainous for the space of 10 degrees from east to west. The mountains rise in parallel terraces, forming chains which increase in height as they advance towards the south, or as they approach the 7th degree of west longitude, becoming lower further to the east. They attain their greatest known elevation between the 8th and 10th parallels. It was a little above the latter parallel, that M. Mollien discovered the sources of the three great rivers he was instructed to explore. The declivity of this mountainous country is generally steeper to the east than to the west, and in the southern, steeper than in the northern part. Its extent to the south has not been ascertained. One of its terraces, however, ends on the coast at Sierra Leone ; and the declivity on the western side is considerably to the S. of latitude 10°. The whole of this elevated region abounds with metals, especially with iron and gold.\*

We are indebted chiefly to the enterprises of the French for our knowledge of the Senegal, of which river they were long the sole masters as high as the cataract of Feloo ; and at the mouth of which they fixed the capital of the factories they possessed from Arguin to Sierra Leone. Copious descriptions of this part of Africa have been furnished by Father Labat† and other French missionaries ; but the latest and

\* Eyries in Mollien, pp. 359, 60.

† Compiled chiefly from the *Memoirs* of André Brue, director of the French African Company.

most popular account is by M. Golberry, of whose work we shall avail ourselves.

The course of the Senegal, from its mouth to the rock Feloo, the boundary of French navigation, is nearly 280 leagues, although the distance in a direct line is not more than 160 leagues. No river, perhaps, in the world, has more tortuous and circuitous windings. Owing to the very slight inclination of the level, the smallest inequality in the surface,—a forest more impervious than usual, a bank of rocks, or a vein of compacter soil, is sufficient to change its course, so that the river frequently seems upon the point of recurring to its source. While the Gambia can be navigated only when the floods have subsided, the Senegal is navigable only in the rainy season ;\* and the voyage has always proved so detrimental to the health of those who have performed it, that one-third of the Europeans have perished in the attempt. Sand-banks and rocks embarrass the navigation ; enormous trees and portions of the bank are continually borne down by the current ; frequent hurricanes and storms are encountered, followed by dead calms ; and the burning atmosphere, when not violently agitated, becomes dreadfully oppressive. But for these perils and inconveniences, the voyage would be, to the naturalist, in the highest degree interesting : the banks present a rich variety of the noblest productions of the vegetable kingdom, while the extensive forests abound with all kinds of wild animals ; troops of forty or fifty elephants may often be seen ; and in the shal-

\* Adanson, however, found the river at its greatest ebb, from 20 to 30 feet deep, as high as Podor, a factory 60 leagues up the river. The salt-water is not felt more than 30 leagues up ; but the influence of the tide reaches to Podor. The greatest rise of the tide at the mouth of the river, is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet.—Murray, vol. i. p. 272.

lower parts of the river are a vast number of hippopotami and caymans of prodigious size. The latter are sometimes seen in parties of 200 or 300, and, when floating on the surface of the river, might be mistaken for trunks of trees. The largest seen by Adanson, the celebrated naturalist, were from 15 to 18 feet in length. He saw also a gigantic species of serpent, 22 feet long and upwards: it devours chiefly lizards, toads, and locusts, the scourges of the country, and is on this account considered as a blessing.

The mouth of the Senegal is obstructed by a very dangerous bar. About three leagues up the river is the Isle of St. Louis, on which stands the capital of what has been denominated French Africa.\* It is a narrow sandy island, devoid of vegetation; but abundance of provisions are obtained from the main land. The number of white inhabitants in 1787, did not exceed sixty persons; and the total population of the island was not above 6000. The town is composed of thatched houses; there are barracks and a hospital, but they are wretchedly constructed; and Fort St. Louis itself is ill-planned and of no strength. The situation is, moreover, extremely unhealthy. Sixty leagues up the river is Fort Podor, situated in the large and fertile island of Morfil: it was built for the protection of the gum trade, and for the purpose of maintaining a connection with the Moorish tribes

\* Besides Fort St. Louis and Podor on the Senegal, the French had, at one time, the forts of St. Joseph and St. Pierre in the interior of Galam; the island of Goree or Barsaghish, near Cape Verd; Albreda and Joal on the Gambia; Bintam on the Celebes River; and the Island of Bissaos. All these settlements are now abandoned; and the Island of St. Louis is reduced to a factory under military government, the returns of which, in 1801, gave a population of 10,000 inhabitants, consisting chiefly of slaves.—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 217.

who inhabit the southern part of the Sahara. The distance from the confines of the desert to this point of the river, in a direct line, is about 7 leagues, but, following the windings of the stream, nearly 40. The gum-fair was principally held on the borders of the river, about half-way between Podor and Fort St. Louis; and the particulars of this traffic, as detailed by Golberry, are not a little curious.

Previously to the commencement of the seventeenth century, the gum of Arabia was the only sort in request: it was brought to Marseilles by way of Egypt. The Dutch were the first who introduced into Europe that of the Senegal; but it was not till the close of that century, that its superior qualities became generally recognised. The gum-tree of the Senegal is of the acacia genus, of which there are numerous varieties. Adanson is stated to have brought home no fewer than forty different species, which are found between the parallels of 20° and 14°. The five principal, however, are the red gum-tree called *Nebueb*; the red one of *Gonake*; and the white gum-tree, called *Suing*; which three he classes under the genus *acacia vera*; while the white gum-tree called *Uerek*, and the white species called *Ded*, belong to a distinct genus. The *Uerek* and the *Nebueb* are the most numerous, as they are the most valuable. They are abundantly propagated in the white and moving sands which form the soil of the countries bordering on the sea-coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape Verde, and also on the northern bank of the Senegal, from the factory called the Desert, to Galam. Three large forests, composed principally of these trees, are found near the southern extremity of the Sahara, which are known under the names of *Sahel*, *Al Fatak*, and *El Hiebar*. The gum-tree of



the Senegal is, in general, not more than 18 or 20 feet high and about 3 feet in circumference, having a stunted and ugly appearance; the branches are thorny; the leaves alternate, very small, of a dry, dirty green; the flowers, white and very short; the trunk smooth, dry, and of a dark green.

The Moorish tribes who frequent the western bank of the Senegal for the purpose of disposing of this gum, are distinguished by the names of Trarshaz (Trazarts), Brachknaz, and Welled El Haghi, or Darmanko. To these tribes, the possession and commerce of the southern countries of the Sahara, as far as the longitude of Galam, appear to have belonged for many centuries. They are said to occupy seven oases, the three principal of which have become each the centre or capital of one of the tribes.\* The territory of the Trarshaz, who occupy three of these oases, extends from the shores of the Atlantic, along the eastern and northern banks of the Senegal, as far as the lake of Cayar on the east, their northern limit being unknown and probably indeterminate. During the fine months, they encamp in the environs of the Senegal, on the banks

\* Some malcontents of these three tribes have formed themselves into a wandering horde, who live by pillage and rapine. These vagabonds are scattered over the coast of the Atlantic, between Cape Bojadore and the *merigot* (or creek) of the Maringouins. This ferocious horde watch for shipwrecks; their spies are planted along the whole extent of coast, above 100 leagues in length, and correspond by signals; and the unfortunate wretches who fall into their hands, are immediately imprisoned and sold as captives to neighbouring hordes. In fact, the whole coast is occupied by piratical hordes, who find customers in traders from Morocco. Saugnier was wrecked off the mountains of Wadi Nun, and was enslaved by the Mongeart and Monselemins. De Brisson, being wrecked a little to the N. of Cape Blanco, fell into the hands of the Labdesseba Arabs. Riley was wrecked near Cape Bojadore; Adams, a little to the S. of Cape Blanco.—See Murray's Hist. vol. i. ch. iv, x, xi.

of the Endereer creek and the lake Cayar ; retiring in the rainy season, with their flocks, horses, and camels, to their three oases. Their principal one is named Hoden, which they call their country ; it is a little below the parallel of  $20^{\circ}$ , but its precise situation is unknown. This tribe is exclusively in possession of the forest of *Sahel*, which consists entirely of white gum-trees ; it is situated 20 leagues E. of Portendick, and 25 leagues N. E. of the Senegal. They have also some salt-mines. The territories of the *Brachknaz* and *Darmanko*, who are of the same stock, extend from that of the Trarshaz eastward, to Ludamar : they possess four oases and the forests of *Al Fatak* and *El Hiebar*, as well as several salt-mines. That of *El Hiebar*, consisting chiefly of red gum-trees, is further to the north than the others ; being 32 leagues from Podor, 30 leagues from Portendick, 60 from Arguin, and 25 from the river St. John, which falls into the sea near Cape Mirik. In the forest of *Al Fatak*, which is not above 30 leagues from Podor, the white species predominates. Besides these three forests, there is a fourth, consisting chiefly of the *Ded* species, in the midst of the Sahara, some leagues to the north of Lake Goumal ; and a fifth, on the right bank of the Senegal, 14 leagues N. E. of Galam.

About the beginning of December, the three Moorish tribes quit their retreats in the vast solitudes of the Sahara, leaving behind them the aged, decrepid, and very young, and their black slaves ; and proceed to their respective forests, where they encamp for about six weeks, to collect the gum. This is packed up in immense sacks, made of tanned ox-hides. When all is ready, the chiefs ride forward in advance to the banks of the Senegal, to strike a bargain with the gum-merchants for the sale of the year's produce. The price

being agreed upon, they return to the main body, to announce that the market may now commence. All at once, the immense solitude of the desert is covered with an innumerable multitude of men and women, horses, camels, oxen, and goats. The air rings with their wild hubbub, and a scene commences, which has no parallel in mercantile transactions. The quantity of gum brought to the French factories in the years 1785, 1786, and 1787, amounted, each year, to 800,000lbs.; besides which, nearly half that quantity was conveyed to Portendick, where it was purchased by the English. The annual produce of the three forests, therefore, was not less than 1,200,000lbs.; and M. Golberry says, that a much larger quantity might be procured. The Moors took in exchange, blue Indian calicoes.

From the time that the Moors quit their oases, and encamp round the gum-forests of the Sahara, the lower classes, this Traveller says, subsist almost entirely on this gum, till their return from the Senegal. Six ounces have been found sufficient to support a man for twenty-four hours. Those who can afford it, dissolve it in milk. Combined with the gravy of meat, it is also formed into a kind of lozenge, which will keep for more than a year; and a preparation of it, mixed with mill-dust, or maize, is sometimes given by the Moors to their horses and camels.\*

Between Podor and Galam, a distance of nearly 130 leagues, the country on the south-western bank of

\* Golberry, vol. i. ch. 6. The Author asserts, that he knew a young Englishman, residing on the Gambia, who was cured of a violent pectoral complaint, by living entirely for three months upon this gum dissolved in milk. The nutritive properties of gum-arabic are equally well known; and other gums are eaten by the Arabs.—See MOD. TRAV. Arabia, pp. 172—175.

the Senegal is occupied by the Foolahs, and bears the name of Foota-Toro. They have also many settlements on the northern bank. The greater part are subject to a Marabout, who has the title of *Siratik*. The Galam territory begins at 30 leagues S. of the island of Bilbos. This country, the proper name of which is Kajaaga, is inhabited by the Serrawoolli, or Serracolet negro tribes, who are governed by many petty princes, nominally subject to the king of Galam. About eight leagues below Galam, at the village of Tafalisga, the Senegal receives the Falemme, which may be navigated during the rainy season by vessels of sixty tons. The French India Company had a fortified factory at Galam, which was at one time of considerable importance. The ruins only of Fort St. Joseph are now visible. About 16 leagues higher up, is the cataract of Feloo. The rock of that name intersects the whole breadth of the river, occasioning a fall which is said to be 80 feet in height. During the dry season, the bed of the river above the rock is nearly dry; but, when the rains commence, the waters rush down with great violence, and the roar may be heard at ten leagues' distance.

Of the present state of Kajaaga, or Galam, Major Gray gives the following account:—

“The kingdom of Galam extends from within a few miles of the cataract of Feloo on the east, where it is bounded by Kasson, (about 40 miles W. of the Falemmê,) to the N. Geercer creek, which divides it from Foota. On the S., it is bounded by Bondoo; and is at present composed of a string of towns on the south or left bank of the Senegal. It formerly extended several miles in the direction of Bondoo, Foota, and Bambouk, but has of late years diminished to its present insignificant state, in consequence of dissen-



sions among the different branches of the royal family, and the encroachments of their enemies. It is divided into upper and lower : the river Fa-lemmê (small river) is the line of separation. The upper is governed by the *Tonca* of Maghana ; the lower, by the *Tonca* of Tuabo ; those towns being the capitals to their respective divisions, and neither acknowledging the supremacy of the other ; although formerly, and of right, it belonged to Maghana, near which town are the ruins of Fort St. Joseph. The succession to the crown is not hereditary : it descends in a regular line to the eldest branch of a numerous family called *Batcheries*, who are the undisputed chiefs of the country.

“ The face of the country is very mountainous, and much covered with wood, a large proportion of which is well adapted to common uses. Its vegetable productions are the same as those of Bondoo, from which country it differs in nothing save its proximity to the river, and its partial inundation during the season of the rains.\* The commerce, like that of Bondoo, consists in the exchange of the productions of the country for European goods. These are again exchanged with their neighbours of Kaarta, Kasson, and Bambouk, for gold, ivory, and slaves, who are in their turn sold to the French vessels from Senegal. Their dress and manner of living are also nearly the same as those of the people of Bondoo. The former is made rather larger in the same shape ; and the latter is more frequently seasoned with fish, with which the river abounds. They are proverbially fond of animal

\* Mollien says, the country is one of the most fertile in Western Africa. Millet, rice, maize, tobacco, cotton, and indigo grow there almost without culture. Yet milk, cattle, and fish form the principal food of the inhabitants.

food, which, although arrived at a higher degree of keeping than would please the palates of our most decided epicures, would not be rejected by them. I have seen a dead hippopotamus floating down the river, and poisoning the air with its putrid vapours, drawn to shore by them; and such was their love of meat, that they nearly came to blows about its division. From a state of paganism, these people are progressively embracing the Mohammedan faith; but many still despise its tenets, disregard its ceremonies, and indulge freely in the use of strong liquors. Some towns are wholly inhabited by priests, who are by far the most wealthy and respectable members of the community. There is a mosque in every town, and the times of worship are strictly attended to by the priests and their converts. From the long existence of a state of commercial intercourse (which has been but partially interrupted by Foota) between these people and the inhabitants of Senegal, arises a degree of respect which is invariably paid by them to all Europeans who visit their country; and although the exorbitant demands of the chiefs for presents (now called customs) sometimes cause altercations and temporary quarrels between them, they must, nevertheless, be considered as more friendly to Europeans, than any other of the surrounding tribes \*..... Their amusements, animals, household furniture, and musical instruments, are the same as those of Bondoo; but the people themselves are neither so lively in their man-

\* Mollien says: "The Serracolets are, perhaps, the most intelligent and skilful of all the Negroes in commercial affairs. Their passion for traffic is such, that their neighbours say, by way of derision, that a Serracolet would rather buy an ass to transport his merchandise, than have a wife whose expenses would diminish his income. All European travellers agree in describing them as extremely hospitable."—Mollien, p. 288.

ners, nor so apparently active in their occupations as those of that country. A Serrawolli is seldom seen to run; a grave and sober deportment, and an apparent indifference to all matters, characterize these people. In stature, they are large, and in make more robust, yet less elegant, than the Foolahs. Their colour is a jetty black, which they are at much pains to preserve (particularly in the dry season) by using a profusion of rancid butter. The women are, if possible, more fond of gaudy articles of dress than their neighbours, and will make any sacrifice at the shrine of finery.\*

To the south of Kajaaga and east of Bondoo, is the country of Bambouk, the "Peru of Western Africa;" from which the greater part of the gold that finds its way to the coast, is understood to be obtained. Of this country, more celebrated than known, M. Golberry's account is as follows.

The country of Bambouk, to the S. of the Senegal, and 10 leagues distant from its left bank, lies between the parallels of  $14^{\circ} 15'$  and  $12^{\circ} 30' N.$ , and the meridians of  $10^{\circ} 36'$  and  $9^{\circ} 16' W.$  The Falemmé, which joins the Senegal at Tafalisga, forms the western boundary. Its real extent is not more than 36 leagues from N. to S., by a medium breadth of 28; which gives a superficies of little more than 1000 square leagues. This territory is divided into three independent states, Bambouk, Satadoo, and Konkoodoo. Each has its peculiar chief, but the *Siratik* of Bambouk enjoys an honorary superiority;† hence, this kingdom has given its name to the whole territory. The mountains of Tabaoura, which form a

\* Gray, pp. 264—270.

† *Siratik*, we are told, is the regal title of the sovereign of Bambouk, as it is in the countries of the Foolahs, the Serrawollies, the Kassons, and in Bondoo.

chain from 38 to 40 leagues in extent, occupy a considerable portion of this country. They produce many springs; and two principal rivers have their source here, both of which are denominated *Colez*. The Western *Colez*, the Rio d'Oro of the Portuguese, has a course of nearly 30 direct leagues, and joins the Falemmê at the village of Nayé Mow: the Eastern or Guyamon *Colez* enters the Senegal at Bukaya-koulou. Estimating the elevated and sterile regions at a third of the surface of the country, there will remain 667 square leagues, which may be ranked among the most fertile of soils. The country ought, therefore, to be very populous; and it is said to contain at least 400,000 inhabitants; but M. Golberry deems this a very exaggerated estimate, and supposes that Bambouk cannot furnish more than 60,000 souls. The natives, indolent and voluptuous, leave uncultivated the most fertile lands, in order to unite in villages near the gold-mines, and on the banks of rivulets which carry down mud and sands impregnated with the "precious bane." Thick forests, several leagues in extent, are abandoned to wild oxen and cows, who have proceeded from cattle escaped from the herds; and they speak of a formidable race of black oxen, very dangerous to the hunters, who consider an offering of one of these wild animals very acceptable to the Demon master of the gold-mines. There are also extensive plains covered with the gigantic herbage known by the name of Guinea-grass, which attains the height of six or seven feet. The *baobab*, the calabash, and various species of acacias and palm-trees, flourish in this country; and from its flowering shrubs, the bees extract a mild and luscious honey. These insects are particularly fond of the calabash and the tamarind-tree.



The temperature of Bambouk, this Traveller affirms to be, throughout the year, the hottest on the globe, and the air is particularly insalubrious. The rains last for four months; but, instead of refreshing the air, they only render the climate the more oppressive. All the rivers then overflow their banks, and the low lands remain for a long time covered with water. The excessive heat and insalubrity of this burning region, form its chief defence against the cupidity and enterprise of European nations. According to the oral information, however, which he was enabled to collect, Bambouk has more than once been overrun by invaders. The present race of inhabitants appear to be chiefly of Mandingo origin. Their language is said to be a jargon, composed of the Manding, Foolah, Yolof, and Moorish dialects. Like the Mandingoes, they have professedly embraced Mohammedism, but they will not suffer a Marabout or priest to exist in their country, owing to a conspiracy in which these Mohammedan Jesuits are said to have been detected, which had for its object, to get the sovereign authority into their own hands.

The first introduction of Islam into this country, is stated to have been about A. D. 1100, when a Mandingo warrior, called Abba Manko, animated by the love of conquest, and zeal for the propagation of the true faith, quitted his country at the head of a powerful army, attended by numerous Marabouts and young women, and after ravaging all the countries along the right bank of the Gambia, entered Bambouk. Part of the inhabitants were proselyted, and part massacred; and Abba Manko, the conqueror, took possession of the throne. At his death, after a reign of thirty years, his dominions were divided among his three sons; the eldest succeeding to the possession of Bambouk and the

richest mines ; the two others to the lordships of Sata-doo and Koukoudoo. And though the male posterity of Abba Manko has long been extinct, the *Siratiks* of the latter district still acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Bambouk.

The second remarkable era in the annals of the country, is the Portuguese invasion of Bambouk, which took place, according to the native mode of calculation, in the ninth century of the Hejira. The Portuguese are said to have rendered themselves masters of the whole country and all its gold-mines ; but they afterwards quarrelled among themselves : many fell in these affrays, and many perished from debauchery and disease ; till, at length, being reduced to a very few, the Bamboukians conspired against them, and massacred them all in one day. Every person who has visited them, assures us, that they entertain the most invincible hatred towards the Portuguese. There are yet to be seen in Bambouk, the ruins of ancient forts and houses built by the invaders ; and many Portuguese words are found intermingled with the dialect.

The third epoch in the history of Bambouk, is the conspiracy of the Maraboos against the native princes. If this took place, as Golberry states, more than three hundred years ago, it must have occurred towards the middle of the tenth century of the Hejira, or about a hundred years after the Portuguese invasion. These Mandingo Maraboos were, it is said, very numerous in the country ; and, tempted by the gold-mines, they had laid a plan to depose all the native chiefs, and to usurp the sovereign authority. Their machinations being discovered, all the Maraboos were seized and massacred in one night ; part of their families shared the same fate, and the rest were expelled the kingdom. Since that period, they have not suffered a

Mohammedan priest to enter the territory ; and if one were detected, he would be instantly put to death. Owing, however, to their being without any religious teachers, they have relapsed into a state of ignorance; superstition, and stupidity, which places them far below the level of the other Mandingo nations, and renders them incapable of turning to account the natural resources of the country. They are described as extremely pusillanimous, and suffer much from the inroads of the Kasson negroes, who live upon the borders of the Senegal, above the cataract of Feloo. Their only resource upon these invasions, is to retreat, with their families, herds, and most valuable effects, into the difficult recesses of the mountains, into which the Kassons dare not follow them. The *Siratiks* have little power; the actual government of the country being chiefly in the hands of the *farims*, or hereditary heads of villages, who appear to correspond to the Indian potails and the Syrian sheikhs.

The gold-mines of Bambouk, M. Golberry says, "are national property;" by which he means, that they are not claimed by the *Siratiks*, but are worked by any of the inhabitants of the adjacent villages. The gold-washing is carried on during the eight months of dry weather, and ceases when the rainy season commences. The richest mine hitherto discovered, is that of Natakou. Nearly in the centre of an angle formed by the mountains to the S. E. of Bambouk, is the village of Tabaoura, situated upon the left bank of the Rio d'Oro, which has its rise near the foot of the adjacent mountain of Tabaoura, the highest in the country. About three leagues lower down the river, on the same bank, is Natakou, the largest and richest town in the kingdom. At three-quarters of a league to the westward of this place, is a small, insulated,

round-topped hill, not more than 300 feet high, and about 3000 paces in circumference at its base; it is about half a league distant from the foot of the mountains which form the Tabaoura chain. A spring of fresh water descends the western declivity of this mount, and after irrigating three-fourths of its base, enters the Rio d'Oro at the village of Natakon. The whole of this hillock (*monticule*) is an alluvial formation, consisting of a fat, argillaceous earth, with a quantity of emery sand, pulverized emery, grains of iron ore, and gold in lumps, grains, and spangles. "There is not a cubic foot of the hill, the soil of which is not loaded with gold." To obtain the rich deposite, the natives have perforated the hill in all directions, with pits about 6 feet in diameter, and from 30 to 40 feet in depth. The auriferous earth is met with about four feet below the surface; and the deeper they go, the more abundant is the gold. At the depth of 20 feet, small lumps are found, weighing from two to ten grains, with lumps of emery, and splinters of lapis lazuli. These pits, being dug perpendicularly, without any precaution to prevent the sides from falling in, not unfrequently give way and overwhelm the miners; but their superstition and fatalism, our Traveller says, prevent any attempt to obviate such accidents.\* What Milton fables, these poor negroes

\* M. Mollien cites the following account of these mines from the "*Voyage au Pays de Bambouk*," 8vo. Paris, 1789; written by a traveller named Coste:—"The most important mine is that of Natocoa, situated in a hill 300 feet high, and from 1000 to 1200 paces in circumference: its summit resembles a dome. The hill is placed in the centre of an immense plain, at a distance from the hills of Tabaoura. The pits dug by the negroes are to the number of 1200. They are from 20 to 25 feet deep; at the surface, they are 12 feet in circumference; they are formed with a gentle slope, and with steps for descending; but, as the sides are not supported by planks, they frequently fall in, and bury the la-



literally believe, "that riches grow in hell." They suppose, that the proprietor and manufacturer of this gold, is the devil, who fabricates it in caverns at an unknown depth in the heart of the earth, by means of his slaves; that of these, a certain number perish every year; and that the falling in of the pits is only an expedient to which he has recourse for replacing the workmen he has lost. Impressed with this opinion, they are afraid to rescue the sufferers, lest they should displease their infernal patron, and lead him to remove his gold-manufactory to some other country. When such accidents happen, the family of the deceased make an offering to the Prince of Darkness, of a black cow, or some other cattle, to propitiate his favour towards their relative.

The plain of Natakou, which is nearly seven leagues in length, is irrigated by a great number of streams from the surrounding mountains, all of which bring down portions of emery impregnated with gold. This circumstance, M. Golberry remarks, authorises the supposition, that the mountains of Tabaoura conceal the real source of all this mineral wealth within their interior recesses; and he supposes, that the alluvial hill is only an "emanation" from the main mass, the effect of some physical convulsion.

The mines of Semayla, situated about 40 miles to the N., at the foot of the western branch of the Tabaoura mountains, and 5 leagues to the west of the Rio d'Oro, are of a somewhat different description. The hill in

bourers. The further they proceed with the pits, the more gold they find." It is believed, that "certain death awaits the proprietor who, on opening a new mine, should fail to sacrifice a black cow to the gold, which is supposed to possess the power of sorcery." The working of the mines is stated to be now almost at a stand.—Mollien, p. 192.

which the gold is found, is not absolutely insulated, like that of Natakou, its western part being joined to the mountain; and it is composed of compact rock. At two or three feet below the surface, is found a reddish sandstone, very hard to cut, mixed with a considerable quantity of calcareous emery and pieces of red marble. To obtain the precious ore, the miners are obliged to reduce these substances to a powder, by pounding them in large mortars, made of a very hard wood which grows in the neighbourhood. At the depth of 30 or 40 feet, they meet with a solid *stratum* of red marble, which stops their further proceedings. It is at this depth, however, M. Golberry supposes, that the real mine may properly be said to commence, as the pieces of red marble that have been taken from this mine, prove that gold is mixed with it in a very large proportion.\* The bed of the rivulet of Semayla, formed of red sand mixed with clay, is full of emery impregnated with gold. The women employed in the gold-washing, dig a hole under the water, which is shortly filled with the sand: this, they withdraw in their calabashes, and the gold, after a slight washing, remains at the bottom of the vessels.

The third mine of Bambouk is that of Nambia, situated at the back of the western chain of the

\* M. Palays, a mineralogist employed by the French African Company to examine these mines, found, that 10 lbs. of crude matter from this mine, yielded as much gold as 40 lbs. of earth taken from the pits of Natakou: 80 lbs. of crude earth procured from the latter, yielded 144½ grains of gold. The sandstone of Semayla is, probably, of the species denominated quartz-slate, similar to the auriferous formation of Minas Geraes. In many respects, this description of the mines of Bambouk reminds us of the gold mines of Villa Rica, which are in like manner worked by negroes. Mr. Mawe compares the appearance of the *Morro* of Villa Rica, perforated in all directions, to a honeycomb.—See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 51, *et seq.*

Tabaoura mountains. It is contained in a hillock excavated in pits, like the others; and, at its foot, there runs an auriferous rivulet. The gold of Nambia is paler than that of Natakou or Semalya, and is preferred as being much more ductile and malleable.

To the east of the Rio d'Oro, in a valley formed by the eastern branch of the mountains of Tabaoura, is found a fourth mine, that of Kombadyria (or Combadiréré), from which much gold is procured, though in smaller quantities than from the two principal mines of Bambouk. The soil of the hill, like that of Natakou, is a rich alluvion, charged with grains of iron, calculous and pulverized emery, loadstones, and ferruginous pyrites, all mixed with gold. The bed of the Kombadyria stream also contains a considerable quantity of the precious ore. In many other places to the west of the Tabaoura mountains, and in different parts of the kingdom of Bondoo, gold is found in smaller quantities; and M. Golberry says, "it is an incontestable fact, that, in this part of Western Africa, over a surface of more than 1200 square leagues, gold is everywhere distributed in larger or smaller quantities." There are also many iron-mines, which are worked by the Bamboukians: the metal is of a very ductile quality, and "sonorous like silver." The latter metal would probably be detected on analysis; and M. Golberry expresses his conviction, that platina would also be found. The only goldsmiths in the country are the blacksmiths, by whom, during the working season, the gold extracted from the pits is daily melted down, and then made into ear-rings. Their only implements are, an earthen chafing-dish, a pair of bellows, and a large and a smaller hammer. With their small hammer, they work the gold in a cold state, and fashion it into trinkets surprisingly

delicate, considering their rude tools. All the gold bartered in the country, is made up in the shape either of ear-rings or other ornaments.\*

The greater part of the gold obtained from the mines of Semayla, Nambia, and Combadiréré, Mollien says, is exchanged with the Moorish traders for salt.† That necessary of life is denied to the country which teems with mineral wealth; and the poor Bamboukians, the envied possessors of this fiery region, where Nature's own laboratory supersedes the toil of the alchemist, are exposed to all the miseries of war, famine, and pestilence, as the consequence of the predatory inroads of their mere warlike neighbours. In vain, for them,

“Afric's sunny fountains  
Roll down their golden sands.”

\* Golberry, vol. i. ch. xi.

† “During my stay at Kamalia' (in Manding), says Mr. Park, “the gold collected by the different traders at that place, *for salt alone*, was nearly equal to 198*l.* sterling; and as Kamalia is but a small town, and not much resorted to by the trading Moors, this quantity must have borne a very small proportion to the gold collected at Kancaba, Kancaree, and some other large towns. The value of salt in this part of Africa, is very great. One slab, about two feet and a half in length, by 14 inches in breadth and two inches in thickness, will sometimes sell for about 2*l.* 10*s.*; and from 1*l.* 15*s.* to 2*l.* may be considered as the common price. The negroes weigh the gold in small balances, which they always carry about them. They make no difference, in point of value, between gold dust and wrought gold.” “At Boori, in Jallonkadoo, about four days S. W. of Kamalia, the salt-market is often supplied, at the same time, with rock-salt from the Great Desert, and sea-salt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same.”—Park, vol. i. pp. 297, 291. Gold is found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding, and in greater abundance in Jallonkadoo, especially about Boori. It is obtained chiefly from the beds of the streams and torrents, and is called *sanoo munko*, gold dust, and *sanoo birro*, gold stones. Salt, however, not gold, is wealth in these countries. “In the inland parts,” says Mr. Park, “the poorer class are so very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say a man eats salt with his victuals, is the same as saying, he is a rich man.”—Park, vol. i. p. 273.



Ignorant, degraded, and indolent, they are unable to avail themselves of the natural riches of the country, so as to establish a beneficial commerce; and the intolerable heat of the climate deters all foreigners from settling in a country where life goes out beneath the blaze of a tropical sun.

#### THE YOLOFS.

RETURNING to the coast, to the south of the Senegal river, and extending as far as the northern bank of the Gambia, westward of Foota Toro and Woolli, is the country of the YoloFs (Joloffs, Jaloofs, UoloFs, Waloofs); comprising the empire of the *Bourb-i-Yolof*, and the states of Brack (or Wal), Cayor, Sin, and Salum.\* All these were at one time united under the Yolof emperor, called the *Barb* or *Bourb*, whose dominions formed the most extensive empire in this part of Africa.

The kingdom of Cayor, the sovereign of which has the title of *Damel*, formerly included Cape Verd and the small island of Goree,† which was fortified and embellished by the French. Its western limits, according to Golberry, are the last five leagues of the left bank of the Senegal, adjoining to the mouth of

\* This nation, Golberry says, occupies, unmolested, the territory comprised between the ocean and the banks of the Senegal, as far as Podor, the southern limits of the FoolaFs, the western bank of the Falemmé, and from the sources of that river in a line which, following the northern banks of the Gambia for the distance of 20 leagues, terminates at the sources of the river Salum.

† “The island of Goree, situated in lat. 14° 17' N., and separated from the main land by a channel of 1500 fathoms in breadth, is a rock about 600 fathoms long, by a breadth somewhat less, and very irregular. From the dark, basaltic colour of this rock, from its constituent parts, and from heaps of rubbish found in some parts of its base, it cannot, I think, be doubted, that Goree has been separated from Cape Verd by a volcanic eruption.” The rock rises nearly 300 feet above the level of the sea.—Golberry, vol. ii. p. 39,

that river, and all the extent of coast comprised between the bar and Point Serene, situated in lat.  $14^{\circ} 44'$  N. It is bounded, on the N., by the territory of Wal, or Brack; eastward, by the dominions of the Bourb Yолоf; and on the south, by the petty states of Sin and Salum. Extending 50 leagues from N. to S., by an average breadth of 40 leagues, it comprises a surface of about 2000 square leagues, with a scanty population of not more than 180,000 souls. Cayor, the capital, is a large village 40 leagues from Goree, and 20 from St. Louis. The little territory of Baol, comprising about 200 square leagues, was, in 1786, taken possession of by the Damel, on the decease of its sovereign.

The little state of Sin, which joins Cayor on the south, has 10 leagues of coast, and a territorial surface of 140 square leagues, with a population estimated at 60,000 souls. On its shores are three anchorages, which were much frequented by the French; one at Point Serene, another at the village of Faghioup, and a third at the port of Joal, formed by the mouth of the river of that name. This is the best, but the bar will not admit of the entrance of ships drawing more than ten feet water. All others must anchor at more than 1800 fathoms from the coast.

The kingdom of Salum, with which that of Sin was formerly incorporated, is situated on a small river of the same name, which discharges itself into the Atlantic, in lat.  $13^{\circ} 44'.$ \* The tide flows as far as Kahan (or Cahon), the residence of the Bourb Salum, 20 leagues from the sea; and vessels can anchor about a league below, in "six fathoms of mud." The river

\* The Salum has been mistaken for a branch of the Gambia, but M. Golberry says, it can have no communication with it. At 30 leagues from the sea, it is a mere brook.

is extremely muddy, and its banks are covered with water-melons, which render the air particularly oppressive and insalubrious. A considerable trade was, however, at one time carried on with this place. The kingdom of Salum, M. Golberry says, extends 60 leagues from E. to W., with a mean breadth of 25 leagues, comprising a surface of 1500 square leagues, with a population of nearly 300,000 souls.\*

M. Mollien, who traversed Cayor and the kingdom of the Bourb-Yolofs, in 1818, represents the ground as rising imperceptibly from the sea-coast eastward as far as the frontier of Fouta Toro. "Throughout this tract, the soil is an extremely fine sand, without the least appearance of stone; but, at the depth of 30 or 40 fathoms, is found a *stratum* of ferruginous stones, resting on calcareous rock. The ground ceases to rise on entering the deserts which separate the Yolof country from Fouta Toro, so that the latter appears to form the first plain of this part of Africa, in proceeding from west to east."† Of the Bourb-Yolofs, this Traveller gives the following account.

\* Golberry, vol. ii. ch. 17. The kingdoms of Salum and Sin, and those of Barra, Kolar, and Badiboo, on the right bank of the Gambia, were formerly united under one chief, before the Mandingoes extended their conquests in that direction.

† Mollien, p. 85. "Respecting the interior of the Jaloof country," another authority states, "the soil is mostly sandy, yet fruitful; there are no high mountains; but, taking the course from the Senegal eastward, where the principal king of the Jaloofs resides, if a judgement may be formed from the gradually increasing depth of the wells, it is one continued rise. At Senegal, the wells are, in depth, about 20 fathoms; at Worko, the king's town, upwards of one hundred. There, when a well is to be sunk, a whole village, or more, are employed; and as the natives are not acquainted with the practice of walling, and the soil is loose, they are obliged to make the well exceedingly wide. During the operation, several lives are generally lost by the falling in of the sides."—Report of Committee for Promoting African Instruction. In Fouta Toro and Bondoo, Mollien found the depths of the wells as great as in Cayor, being as much as 40 fathoms.—Mollien, p. 152.

“The government of the Bourb-Yolofs, like that of all the neighbouring kingdoms, is feudal. The monarch, nevertheless, possesses despotic authority, which he owes, like all other African sovereigns, to the great number of his slaves. The country contains more Pagans than Mohammedans. The latter are held there in high consideration, in consequence of the mildness and toleration which they affect. The religion of the pagan Yolofs is pure fetishism : a tree, a serpent, a ram’s horn, a stone, scraps of paper covered with Arabic characters, or any objects equally insignificant, are deities with them . . . . . In this part of Africa, both Pagans and Mohammedans place their children under the tuition of the Maraboos. The reverence of children for their fathers is unbounded ; but they pay little respect to their mothers . . . . Two pieces of cotton cloth, one fastened round the waist, the other thrown over the shoulders, constitute alike the dress of the men and the women.” In Cayor, however, the chiefs, in addition to these, wear wide yellowish trousers and a cotton shirt. Necklaces and bracelets, of gold or silver, are the only distinctions of the women of higher rank ; and, whether slaves or mistresses, they all labour for their common master. Polygamy is universal. The food of the Yolofs is not less simple than their dress : *cuscussou*, and milk or fish, are their only dishes ; and they make but two meals a day, at sun-rise and sun-set. Their huts are constructed of rushes, with a door of straw, and might be mistaken for immense bee-hives. They are compactly built, so as to afford shelter from rain ; and the pliant materials withstand storms by yielding to their fury. Every Yolof, however poor, has at least two huts,—one to serve as a sleeping-room, the other for a kitchen. The furniture consists of a few mats, on which they sleep,



a caldron of iron, or more generally of earthenware, a few calabashes, and a wooden mortar for pounding millet. Beyond the precincts of their villages, are seen large rush baskets, elevated on stakes, in which they keep their grain ; and such is the respect paid to the right of property, that these stores are never violated.

Wamkrore, the capital of the Bourb-Yolof, is a large village in an open plain. The sable monarch, when M. Mollien was presented to him, was found seated on a sheep-skin under a tree ; his head bald and uncovered, and his white tunic, the sign of royalty, falling to rags. Nothing distinguished him from other negroes, except that his subjects saluted him on their knees. Our Traveller's present to his Majesty was a grain of amber and ten heads of tobacco ; for which, after some consultation with his favourite attendant, the king munificently presented to him a pair of stirrups. Such is the magnificence of the Emperor of all the Yolofs !

M. Golberry describes the Yolofs as the most handsome negroes of Western Africa. They are, he says, robust and well-made, with regular features, and their ingenuous countenances inspire confidence. They are distinguished from all the other black nations of Western Africa, to the north of the Line, by a fine, brilliant, pure black complexion ; a noble and impressive form ; a character disposed to benevolence and virtue ; and a high opinion of the purity and remote antiquity of their origin.\* They have some

\* Golberry, vol. i. p. 74, vol. ii. p. 94.—These negroes are remarkable, says this Traveller, for a certain air of importance and haughtiness, originating in a pride which they feel at the superiority and antiquity of their race. If addressed as a negro, the Yolof will reply, " Me no negro, me a Yolof."—Ib. chap. i. p. 76. Burckhardt makes a similar statement respecting the people of

traits, however, in common with the negro nations. Their hair is crisped and woolly; they have thick lips and a nose "rather round;" they are careless and idle, but honest, hospitable, generous, faithful, and brave. Their language is poor, but soft and agreeable, and easy to learn. Their numerical system is a perpetual repetition of the first five numbers, and it becomes very complicated after ten.\*

In many respects, there is a marked national difference between the Yolofo and the other tribes of Senegambia. "Generally," says Mr. Singleton, describing the inhabitants of St. Mary's Island on the Gambia, "the Jaloof is rather tall, plump, of fine-turned limbs, with short, curling hair, and shining, jet-black skin. The Mandingoes are mostly of a spare make, not quite so clean, or of so bright a black; and their hair is somewhat less curled than that of the Jaloofs." Between these two nations, there exists a strong mutual antipathy. The Yolofo (or Jaloofs) are a domestic people, little known beyond their own territories, and their language is not spoken by any other tribes. The Mandingo is widely diffused, as that people not only inhabit a greater extent of country, but travel much as traders. Among the Yolofo, the women attend to their households: the Mandingoes send their women into the field. But the most remarkable peculiarity of the Yolofo, is their having among them the distinction of caste.† Besides the "good Yolofo," as the

Berber:—"We are Arabs, not negroes," they say, founding the distinction on the softness of their skin, not its colour, as *black* is not a term of reproach.—Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 200. According to Golberry, *Yolof* means black.

\* Golberry, vol. ii. p. 97. Kilham's Specimens.

† "Every nation," says Mollien, "has its prejudices. One of those which the Joloffs have preserved to this day, and which is

*hidalgos* of this race style themselves, there are four resident castes, who are looked down upon as inferior classes: the *Tug*, or smiths; the *Oodae*, shoemakers and workers in leather; the *Moul*, fishermen; and the *Gaewell*, "singers and fiddlers," or, in more poetical phrase, bards. Strange to say, the latter are the *pariahs* of the nation. No good Yolof will marry into either of these castes; but the *Gaewell* is the only one who are refused interment. They are not even suffered to live within the towns, but must reside towards one certain point on the outside. They must neither keep cattle, nor drink sweet milk. If one of this caste dies near the water, his corpse is thrown into it; if at a distance, it is deposited in the hollow trunk of the monkey-bread tree; for the natives say, that where a *Gaewell* is buried, nothing will grow. Yet, though thus despised, they are, at times, much in request. "The good Yolof loves to hear the praise of his ancestors; and, when intoxicated, will condescend to hear a *Gaewell* sing the honours of his family. If the minstrel flatters his employer to satisfaction, his reward is not only certain, but often considerable. In time of war, the *Gaewell* has another harvest. In the field, or on the march, the king listens to their songs in honour of his predecessors, or of his own past exploits, as chiefs of former times attended to the bards. It is the duty of a *Gaewell*, too, in case the army should be repulsed, to urge them to return to the charge; but here, if he exceed the wishes or the courage of the chiefs, or even of the common to most of the neighbouring negro tribes," (an assertion of questionable accuracy,) "is so thorough a contempt for black-smiths, weavers, shoemakers, and *griots* (musicians), that even a slave will not marry a woman descended from a family which has exercised one of those professions."—Mollien, p. 59.

soldiers, he may pay for his temerity the price of his life."\*

These bards or public singers are found, as a distinct class, throughout the countries of Senegambia. M. Mollien found them in Fouta Toro, where they are called *diavandos*. "Though doomed by their profession to contempt," he states, "they have nevertheless contrived to render themselves formidable by the influence which they have gained over the public opinion, by means of eulogies or satires, of which they are equally lavish. They speak with great facility, are proficient in the Arabic language, and zealous Mohammedans. Their traffic in praises and invectives, procures them considerable wealth. If one of these men demands a horse or a musket from the king, he dares not refuse him. A Poula, however, will not give his daughter in marriage to a *diavando*. Nor is this the only class of persons consigned to contempt; but the line of demarcation is not so strong here as in Hindostan. To appearance, there are no distinctions. The *griots* (musicians), blacksmiths, weavers, and shoemakers, live and eat with the other negroes, but never connect themselves with them by marriage."†

\* Report of the Committee for promoting African Instruction. London, 1822. It is curious to trace the unexpected traits of resemblance between tribes of very different origin. The half Musulman, half heathen Bheel of Malwah, presents a counterpart, in several respects, to these negro *rajpoots*; especially, in his fondness for hearing the warlike deeds of his ancestors rehearsed by his *bhât*, or bard. But the *bhât* is held in higher reverence in Western India. When a bard of reputation visits a Bheel chief, he receives presents that have no other limit than the ability of the donor. It may be added, that the *chumar*, or shoemaker caste, is one of the most degraded in India, as it is among the Yolofo; and the Bheel is ranked by the Hindoos only above the *chumar*.

† Mollien, p. 162. In Fouta Toro among the Moors, this Traveller says, there exists also a species of freemasonry. In villages where persons of this fraternity reside, they perform the functions of conjurors, and are called *Almousseri*;



Among the Mandingoes, there are two classes of minstrels. The most numerous, Mr. Park says, are the singing-men, called *jilli-kea*, one or more of whom may be found in every town. "They sing extempore songs in honour of their chief men, or any other persons who are willing to give solid pudding for empty praise. But a nobler part of their office is, to recite the historical events of their country. Hence, in war, they accompany the soldiers to the field, in order, by reciting the great actions of their ancestors, to awaken in them a spirit of emulation. The other class are devotees of the Mohammedan faith, who travel about the country, singing devout hymns, and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty, either in averting calamity, or ensuring success to any enterprise. Both descriptions of these itinerant bards are much employed and respected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them."\*

Besides these castes, there exists among the Yolofs, a singular tribe of distinct race and language, called *Laoobies*; between whom and our gipsies, there seem to be many points of resemblance. Mr. Singleton was informed, "that they speak the Mandingo language; † that they have no settled place of abode, but are continually moving about, resting in the bush, without even a tent to cover them; yet, if they find a forsaken hut, they scruple not to inhabit it so long as they abide in the neighbourhood. They are very filthy in their persons, and not nice in their food. They depend partly on hunting for their subsistence, and partly on their manufactures, such as the mortar and pestle, buckets, bowls, and stools, all cut out of solid

\* Park, vol. i. p. 272.

† Mollien says, "the Poulah." They probably speak the language of the country they settle in.

wood. The ax and the spear are their only weapons; and with the latter, they are dexterous in despatching the elephant, the tusks of which animal they sell or exchange for corn." To these particulars, may be added, on the authority of M. Mollien, that they are idolaters, and, what is not a little remarkable, professed fortune-tellers. Each family has its chief, and the whole nation acknowledge a king, who alone communicates with the government under which they may reside, and to which they pay a kind of tax or tribute for the privilege of residing in the territory. This system procures for them exemption from military service, and secures them against all vexation. Although their appearance would indicate abject poverty, they are said to possess considerable wealth. They are, in general, ugly, as well as slovenly. Their women are, nevertheless, extremely fond of finery, and are generally covered with amber and coral beads, the presents of the Yolofs, by whom their transient favours are in even superstitious request. They generally travel upon asses. Upon coming to a village where they think it likely they shall find a demand for their wooden wares, they choose a well-wooded spot, fell some trees, form huts with the branches, and work up the trunks. Both men and women pass their leisure time in smoking, ranged round fires made with the dung of their flocks.\*

To the S. E. of the Yolof country is the Mandingo kingdom of Oulli, or Woolli, extending along the northern bank of the Gambia between Salum and Bondoo. It is bounded by the small river Wallia and the state of that name, on the N.W. and W.; by

\* Mollien, pp. 90, 91.

Foota Toro on the N.; by Bondoo on the N.E.; and on the E. by the Simbani wilderness. The country everywhere rises into gentle acclivities, which are generally covered with extensive woods;\* and the towns are situated in the intermediate valleys. Each town is surrounded with a tract of cultivated land, sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants. The soil is everywhere fertile, except near the tops of the ridges, where the red iron-stone, covered with stunted shrubs, indicates the boundary between fertility and barrenness. The chief productions are cotton, tobacco, and esculent vegetables, all raised in the valleys, while the rising grounds are appropriated to grain. The inhabitants, as in most of the Mandingo nations, are divided into Mohammedans, who are called *bush-reens*; and *kaffirs*, who are also called *sonakies*, i.e., men who drink strong liquors. The latter are by far the more numerous, and the government is in their hands. The revenue is derived from occasional tributes and transit duties on goods transported across the country, which are levied at every town.

Medina, the capital of Woolli, is a respectable walled town, containing, according to Major Gray, about 250 huts, and from 800 to 1000 inhabitants.† Outside the wall, which is of clay, is a strong stockade about five feet high, giving to the place the appearance of a large fortified redoubt. The town is beautifully shaded with large trees of the fig and palm species, and has a pleasing appearance from without; but to this, its interior ill corresponds, being filled with mud

\* In the Mandingo vocabulary given by Park, *Woola* means wilderness. *Mandingue*, according to Mollien, also means forest in Yolof. *Oolli*, in that dialect, signifies hot.

† Gray, p. 80. Park says, "it may contain from 800 to 1000 houses." But this is, perhaps, an error of the press or pen.

huts irregularly jumbled together, between which are heaps of filth. The house of the *mansa* or king, which is nearly in the centre of the town, is separated from those of his subjects by a mud wall about 9 feet high. Those of some of the chief men are similarly inclosed, but the walls are not so high. Two wells of tolerable water supply the inhabitants with that prime necessary in sufficient abundance. The surrounding plain has been cleared to the extent of about half a mile, and is, for the most part, under cultivation. All the inhabitants of Medina, (notwithstanding the Arabic name of the capital,) are *sonakies*; but, at a short distance to the south, is a large *bushreen* town, called Barra Cunda, containing from 1000 to 1500 inhabitants. It is surrounded with a slight stake fence, interwoven with thorny bushes. This is the only defence that, in this country, the followers of Mohammed find it necessary to adopt, as they never engage in war, and suffer no other molestation from an invading army, than being compelled to furnish provisions, with which they are in general abundantly supplied. The *bushreen* are both more industrious and more abstemious than the *kaffirs*, a large proportion of whose produce is consumed in the purchase of inebriating liquors. The dress of the *sonakies* also is neither so good nor so cleanly as that of the Mohammedans; and what with smoking, drinking, and dirt, the former are altogether, Major Gray says, a filthy people.\*

Medina lies in the direct route taken by Major Houghton and Mr. Park, from Pisanía on the Gambia to Sego and the Niger. On leaving the Woolli territory, it enters Bondoo, which is, in like manner,

\* Gray, pp. 80—82. Park, vol. i. pp. 33—35.



covered for the most part with woods ; but the land is more elevated, and towards the Falemmé, rises into considerable hills. In natural fertility, it is not surpassed by any of those countries. The hills are rocky, and for the most part covered with low, stunted trees, fit for no other use than fuel. But the valleys, in which the walled towns and villages are situated, are to a certain extent cleared ; and the soil is a light sand, mixed with a brown vegetable mould, well adapted for cultivation. Innumerable beds of torrents intersect them in all directions, which are filled by the rains, and pour their waters into the Falemmé. Great numbers of tamarinds, *baobabs*,\* *rhamnus lotus*, and other fruit-trees, are beautifully scattered over these valleys ; and in the vicinity of the villages are always seen a number of cotton and indigo plantations. Besides these, the inhabitants cultivate four varieties of grain, rice, water-melons, gourds, onions, sorrel, tobacco, red-pepper, and pistachios.

Bondoo lies between the parallels of  $14^{\circ}$  and  $15^{\circ}$  N., and longitude  $10^{\circ}$  and  $12^{\circ}$  W. ; being bounded, N. by

\* Improperly called the African calabash-tree and the monkey's bread-tree, the *Adansonia digitata* of botanists. Golberry says, it belongs to the genus *malva*. The fruit is called by the Yoloofs, *boui* ; by other tribes, *goui*. Adanson measured several trees, which were from 65 to 68 feet in circumference ; and Golberry describes a *baobab* which was 104 feet in circumference, and contained within its prodigious stalk, " a cavern 22 feet high, and more than 20 in diameter," which was used as a place of assembly by the natives. He assigns to it an age " perhaps contemporary with the earliest time subsequent to the deluge." It certainly attains both a wonderful age and an astonishing growth, and is justly styled the most monstrous of vegetable productions. The flowers, which are white, and, when expanded, nearly 4 feet in length, contract at night. The negroes take great pleasure in assembling, before sunrise, round the baobabs that are in blossom, to watch their waking ; upon which they salute it with "*diarakio raffet signare*," good day, sweet lady.—Golberry, vol. ii. ch. 16.

Kajaaga ; E. by the Falemmé and Bambouk ; W. by Foota Toro, Woolli, and the Simbani woods ; and S. by Tenda and Dentilla. Its greatest extent from E. to W. does not exceed ninety miles, and sixty from N. to S. From its central situation, between the Senegal and the Gambia, it is a great thoroughfare ; and a large proportion of the inhabitants are Moslem. The country is under the dominion of the Foolaahs ; but the trade is conducted chiefly by Mandingoes and Serawoollies, who have settled in the country. They carry on a considerable traffic with Gedumah and other Moorish countries, bartering their corn and blue calicoes, of native manufacture, for salt ; which they exchange again, in Dentilla and other districts, for iron, *shea*-butter,\* and small quantities of gold-dust.†

The capital of Bondoo, when Mr. Park travelled, was a town called Fatte-conda ; but, in 1820, the residence of the *almamy* was at Boolibany, a small town, the inhabitants of which did not exceed 1800 souls, consisting chiefly of the relatives, slaves, trades-

\* The *shea*-tree, from which the vegetable butter is procured, very much resembles in appearance the American oak, but belongs, Mr. Park says, to the genus *sapotæ*. The fruit is somewhat like an olive, the kernel being enveloped in a sweet pulp under a thin green rind. The kernel, being first dried in the sun, is boiled, and the butter it produces, besides the advantage of its keeping through the year without salt, (a remarkable enhancement of its value in countries where salt is so scarce and precious,) is whiter, firmer, and of a richer flavour, Mr. Park says, than the best butter made from cow's milk. These trees grow spontaneously in great abundance in Bambarra, and are a principal object of care and attention, as the butter forms a main article of their inland commerce. They are said not to be found further west than Tambacunda, in Tenda.—Park, vol. i. pp. 198, 341.

† Park, vol. i. p. 55. Gold, ivory, and slaves are also brought by the people of Bambouk, Kasson, and Foota Jallon ; and European articles are supplied from the factories on the Gambia, —Gray, p. 180.

men, and other immediate followers of the monarch. It stands on an extensive plain, at the foot of a range of rocky hills, having to the west, the dry bed of a torrent, which, in the rainy season, conducts a considerable stream into the Falemmé. The town is surrounded with a strong clay wall, 10 feet high, and 18 inches thick, pierced with loop-holes, and with projecting angles at short intervals; there are five gates, surmounted with small embattled turrets, which have likewise loop-holes; and the place has altogether more the appearance of being respectably fortified, than any town in this part of Africa. The streets of the town are narrow, irregular, and dirty. The houses or huts are of various descriptions; some square and flat, composed of rough timber and clay; others round, with walls of the same description, surmounted with a conical thatched roof; and a third class, huts entirely composed of wood and dry grass. There is an indifferent mosque, the walls of clay, with a rough timber roof, supported in the centre by three strong forked stakes about 18 feet high, and projecting over the walls so as to form a rude piazza, resting upon forked stakes about 5 feet high. Public prayers are performed in it five times a day with great apparent devotion. The Almamy's residence, as well as those of the other members of his family, has an exterior wall about 13 feet high, inclosing an area of about an acre, which is divided, by low clay walls, into several small courts. Within these are the chambers of the women and the magazines. The exterior walls are lined, nearly all round, with a range of square clay hovels, serving as cooking-places, stables, slave-rooms, and store-houses; all with flat roofs, where, in case of attack, a number of armed men can be placed under cover of the walls, which form a parapet.

At a short distance to the S.W. are the ruins of a town nearly as large as Boolibany, of which it originally formed a part; but it was destroyed by a Kaartan army. When Major Gray visited the place in 1820, the ground, for a considerable distance, was thickly strewn with the whitened bones of those who had fallen in the conflict.\* This war was provoked by an act of aggression on the part of the Bondoo sovereign, who avails himself of his Mohammedan commission to attack and plunder the adjacent countries. Woolli, Tenda, Dentilla, and Bambook; are generally the scenes of these marauding expeditions, the chief object of which is to obtain slaves for the Galam market. Owing to the frequency of these incursions, most of the frontier towns in those states have been abandoned by the natives, and have subsequently been occupied by the Bondoo people, who have of late years been extending themselves considerably in those directions. Many of the natives of Yani (or Katoba), Yolof, and Woolli, have settled in Bondoo, and have embraced the Mohammedan faith. Their towns are chiefly on the western frontier, and are distinguished by their superior wealth and productive cultivation. The most effective division of the Almamy's force is composed of the Yolofo and Woolli people, who are proverbial for bravery. The whole disposable force of Bondoo is estimated by Major Gray at between 500 and 600 horse, and from 2000 to 3000 foot.† The Yani people are chiefly

\* Gray, pp. 124—128.

† “When the Almamy finds it necessary to call this army to the field, he repairs with his own immediate followers to some village at a short distance from the capital, and there beats the war-drum, which is repeated by each village; and in this manner, the call to arms is circulated over the country.” The drum is a large wooden



Maraboos, who are consequently exempt from military service, but pay a large yearly tribute, and are sometimes called upon for extraordinary contributions. The revenues, which are solely the property of the *Almiamy*, consist of a tenth of all agricultural produce ; a tenth of the salt imported ; a custom or transit duty on all European goods ; an annual tribute from the Senegal Company's vessels trading in the river, and from the French factory at Baquelle ; and presents of all descriptions, and to an unlimited amount, from all persons who have any favour to ask or business to transact with his majesty.

The religion of Bondoo is Mohammedan, but its precepts are less strictly attended to than in some of the other states of Western Africa. There are mosques of some kind in every town ; many of them, however, are nothing more than small square spaces inclosed with stakes, and kept cleanly swept. In all of them, prayers are publicly said five times a day. There are also schools in almost every town, in which the reading and writing of Arabic are taught. The pupil is in all cases the servant of his teacher, who may employ him in the most menial capacity. When not at their lessons, the scholars go about begging, or sewing together the country cloth for any who may want to employ them : their gains are brought home to the master, who is always a Maraboot, and are appropriated to his use.

It is remarkable, that the useful arts are held in much higher esteem in Bondoo, than in any of the countries to the westward, and there is little trace of

bowl, nearly three feet in diameter, covered with three skins : one is said to be that of a human being, another a hyena's, and the outer one a monkey's, which is covered with texts from the Koran !—Gray, p. 189.

caste. The smiths, carpenters, curriers, and other mechanics, Major Gray says, are by far the most respectable of the several classes that he had met with in any of the countries he had passed through; so much so, that the ministers, favourites, and officers of the Almamy were chosen chiefly from among them. Although the population is of a very mixed character, the Foolah customs and manners predominate, and that language is exclusively spoken. This Traveller confirms the favourable description of that race, given by other authorities.\* Their prevailing complexion here, is a light copper colour, with a form of face approaching nearer to the European than in any of the other tribes of Western Africa, the Moors excepted. "The women, in particular," he says, "who might vie, in point of figure, with those of the most exquisitely fine form in Europe, are of a more lively disposition and more delicate form of face, than either the Serrawollies, the Mandingoes, or the Joloffs. They are extremely neat in their persons and dress, and are very fond of amber, coral, and glass-beads of different colours, with which they bedeck their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles profusely; gold and silver, too, are often formed into small buttons, which are intermixed with beads on the head, and into rings and chains worn on the

\* See pp. 59—62 of this volume. To the testimonies there cited, may be added the account given of "the Pholeys" (Foolahs) of the Gambia by Moore, who collected more information respecting this part of Western Africa, than any Traveller prior to Park. He is never weary of extolling their hospitality, mildness, humanity, industry, and courage: "to have a Pholey town in the neighbourhood, is by the natives," he says, "reckoned a blessing." Their villages formed a species of independent republic governed by their own chiefs.—See Murray, vol. i. p. 202.

wrists and ancles. They always wear a veil thrown loosely over the head: this is manufactured by themselves from cotton, and is intended to imitate thin muslin, at which they have not by any means made a bad attempt. The other parts of their dress, with a few exceptions of silk and printed cotton which they obtain from the coast, are entirely of their own manufacture. They are exceedingly fond of perfumes of every kind, particularly musk, attar of roses, or lavender; but they can seldom procure these, and therefore substitute cloves, which they pound into powder, and mix up with a kernel having something the flavour of a Tonquin bean, which they likewise reduce to powder, and, with a little gum-water, form it into beads about the size of a common garden pea. These they string, and hang round the neck. They sometimes string the cloves themselves, and wear them in the same manner; but the way they prefer wearing them, is sewed up in small bags made of rich coloured silk, a number of which are hung round the neck. The hair, which is neatly braided into a profusion of small plaits, hangs down nearly to the shoulders, and is confined (together with the strings of amber, coral, and beads which decorate it) round the forehead, with a few strings of small beads by the young girls, and, by the married, with a narrow strip of silk, or fine cotton cloth, twisted into a string about as thick as a finger. To complete their dress, a pair of large gold ear-rings dangle almost to touch the shoulders. In consequence of their great weight, these would tear the ears, were they not supported by a little strap of thin red leather, which is fastened to one ear-ring by a button, and passes over the top of the head to the other. The walk of these ladies is

peculiarly majestic and graceful ; and their whole appearance, although strange to a European observer, is far from inelegant.

“ The dress of the men, with the exception of being smaller and more convenient, is precisely the same as that of the people at Kayaye (on the Gambia).\* Blue and white are the favourite colours. With the rich, the manufacture of the country is replaced by India bafts and muslins, both which are embroidered neatly with different coloured silks or worsted round the neck, and down the back and chest. The cap, which is always white, is of a very graceful form, and is also embroidered, but with white only. The Maraboos and men advanced in years, wear white turbans with red or blue crowns ; and, occasionally, a hat made of a sort of rush or grass, having a low conical crown with a broad rim. When on horseback, or going to war, the large sleeves of their gowns are tied together behind the neck, being brought over the shoulders ; and the bodies, which would otherwise be extremely inconvenient from being very loose, are secured round the middle with a girdle, which, at the same time, confines their powder-horn and ball-bag on the right side, and their *grigri*, or amulet-case, on the left. These are all suspended by strong cords of red, yellow, or green silk or worsted, and are crossed in the same manner as the belts of our soldiers. A dirk, about nine inches or a foot long, hangs at the right side from the running string

\* Kayaye is a small town inhabited by a mixture of Mandingoes and Soosoos,—“ a shrewd, active race, subject to the king of Katoba, and professing the Mohammedan religion, which secures protection to the trader. Caravans from the interior frequently stop there on their way to the settlements on the coast, and dispose of their goods to the masters of some of the small trading vessels from St. Mary’s.”—Gray, p. 51.



or strap, which, at the same time, serves to tighten the trowsers above the hips. A single or double-barrelled gun completes their equipment in general: some of the princes and chiefs, however, add a sword, confined at the right side by their girdle, and one or two pistols, which hang dangling in their leather holsters, variously coloured, at the pommel or front horn of their saddle. One leather bag to contain water, and another, a small store of dried *couscous*, for their own provision, together with a nose-bag and a fetter of the same material for their horse, make up the catalogue of their marching baggage. These are all fastened, by leather straps, to the back part of the saddle: this is at best but a bad one, being chiefly composed of pieces of wood, tied together with thongs of raw cow-hide, which, when wet, stretches so as to allow the wood to come in contact with the horse's back, and wound it in a shocking manner."\*

We must now again return to the coast, and complete our topographical description of the maritime countries of Western Africa. The mutual boundaries of Senegambia and Guinea are left to the caprice of geographers; but, after passing the mouth of the Gambia, the coast assumes a new character, and the country is divided among various petty states, which dispute with one another their obscure existence. Our best account of this tract of country is supplied by the African Memoranda of Captain Beaver, of whose description we shall avail ourselves.

"That part of the western coast of Africa lying between the Gambia and the Rio Grande, and comprised between the parallels of  $11^{\circ}$  and  $13^{\circ} 20'$ , is not formed by the main land, but by a long chain of low,

\* Gray, pp. 185—189. ,

fertile islands, separated from the continent by narrow but navigable branches of the sea. On the northernmost of these islands is Cape St. Mary, which forms the southern headland to the entrance of the river Gambia. Hence, the coast runs nearly south, along five islands, for about 24 leagues, to Cape Roxo; whence it takes nearly an E.S.E. direction along four other islands, for about 45 leagues; when we arrive at the island of Bulama, situated at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Thus, between the mouths of these two rivers, the sea-coast is formed by ten islands in an extent of 69 leagues, or rather more than 200 geographical miles.

“The continent between these two latitudes, is bounded on the north by the river Gambia, which is navigable by large vessels for nearly 80 leagues, and by small ones, to the falls of Barraconda, more than 300 miles from its mouth.\* The Rio Grande is its southern boundary, which is navigable by ships to Bulola, 72 miles from its entrance: how much higher, by boats, is not exactly known.† The Gambia and high mountains are the eastern boundary (of this region), as the islands before-mentioned are its western limit. Few countries of equal extent seem better adapted for commerce and for defence;

\* “While the Senegal is navigable only in the rainy season, the Gambia cannot be navigated except in the dry season. Forty-gun frigates can go up 37 miles, and large merchant vessels, 180. The rains give it an enormous increase of depth, but, at the same time, such inordinate rapidity, that no vessel can stem the current. This river, though exceedingly deep and wide, has only a course of 610 miles.”—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 209.

† “The Abbé Demanet and the African Pilot assert, that this river is navigable for 150 leagues, which I am very much inclined to doubt; because the tide, as I was informed at Bulama, flows no higher than Bulola, only 24 leagues up the river, which, at that place, at low water, is only 3 fathoms deep.”—Beaver.

three sides, and the largest part of the fourth, being embraced by the sea and two great rivers, and the remainder guarded by high mountains. Numerous rivers, rivulets, and creeks, dividing, intersecting, and watering its western part, and thus facilitating its communication and commerce, seem to point it out as a most eligible spot for European colonization.

“ To the southward of these continental islands, is a cluster of other islands, running in nearly a parallel direction, and separated from them by a channel, generally speaking, about five leagues in breadth. These last are called the Bijuga Islands, and form, with the former, one immense harbour, from Cape Roxo to Bulama, of nearly 150 miles in length ; but I shall now confine my observations to the before described territories, nearly surrounded by two great rivers and the sea.

“ The northern part of this territory is inhabited by various tribes or nations, who are chiefly fixed near the winding shores of the Gambia ; the western chiefly by Feloops, the southern and eastern by many different nations. The nameless island whose S.W. point is known by the appellation of Cape Roxo, which forms the salient angle of the two coast lines leading to the Gambia and the Grande, is inhabited by the people called Feloops.\* They have the reputation of being a brave and an independent people. This island is formed by the rivers Casamanza and Cacheo, both navigable for decked vessels. It is about fifty miles in

\* The Feloop negroes, according to Golberry, occupy a country of 25 leagues in length by 15 in breadth, upon the banks of the river Casamanza, and on the upper course of the Vintain. “ The country they inhabit, is well covered and very fertile ; they rear cattle, which they defend with much courage against the lions, eopards, and bears, which are common in their forests.”—Golberry, vol. ii. p. 294. Mr. Park states, that their country abounds with rice, goats, poultry, bees’ wax, and honey. From the latter, they make an intoxicating sort of mead.”—Park, vol. i. p. 4.

length. The Portuguese had formerly a factory upon it ; but what trade they now carry on there, is by means of canoes and small craft, navigated by *grumetas* from Bissao. It has internal communication with the Gambia by the Pasqua river, a little above James Fort, and again by the Casamanza, one hundred miles above it.

“ Cacheo is the next island to the S.E., which is formed by the river of that name and Jatt’s river. On this island, the Portuguese had also formerly a very considerable factory. They now carry on some trade there by means of small vessels from Bissao ; but no native Portuguese reside upon it. It is about forty-five miles in length, and is inhabited by Papels. North of this island are a people called Banyans, inhabiting the continent and several little islands formed by various branches of internal rivers and creeks.

“ South of Cacheo is Jatt’s Island, embraced by arms of the sea ; a beautiful little island, about seven leagues in length, and inhabited by a people called Manjacks.

“ To the S.E. of Jatt’s Island are the islands of Bassis and Bissao ; both together are about sixty miles long : they are fertile and populous, inhabited by Papels. On the latter island, the Portuguese have a considerable factory and a strong fort.

“ North of these islands is a large one, nearly a hundred miles in length, inhabited principally by Balantes ; but its eastern extremity is occupied by Mandingoes, and its western by Papels.

“ N.E. of Bissao, is another island, on whose eastern side the river Geba loses itself in the sea, occupied also by Balantes ; and to the E. of this island is a large peninsula, part of the continent, occupied by the Biafaras.

“ Geba lake, part of that river,\* and the bordering

\* The Portuguese settlement of Geba is 160 miles up the river of that name, 60 leagues N.E. of Bissao. It is a mere village of mud



territories in the north and east, are occupied by the Mandingoes.

“ One is astonished at the great variety of tribes or nations which are to be met with on the sea-coast of Africa. Almost every island is inhabited by a different nation ; almost every rivulet separates distinct tribes. During our residence on the island of Bula-ma, we had communication by our open boats, which never went more than seventy miles from us, with seven distinct nations : the Manjacks, Papels, Balantes, Mandingoes, Biafaras, Naloos, and Bijugas.

“ The Naloos\* occupy the sea-coast between the mouths of the Rio Grande and the Nunez, and carry on a great deal of trade with the Portuguese at Bis-sao, from their principal town of Tombaly. The Nunez is navigable for large ships to Kacundy, about 70 miles from its mouth ; between which place and Bulola on the Grande, there is frequent land communication, as those rivers approach each other very near at those places. Bulola is inhabited by a mixed race, though chiefly Biafaras.

“ Ignorant myself of all the native languages, it

huts, without a fort ; and the soldiers are negroes. “ Bounded on the south by a marshy river, and on the east by mountains, it is, perhaps,” M. Mollien says, “ one of the most unhealthy spots on the face of the globe.” The surrounding country, which bears the name of Kaboo, is very fertile, and yields rice, millet, maize, and a little cotton and indigo. It is inhabited by a mixture of nations, chiefly pagan Mandingoes, whose language prevails.—Mollien, pp. 321—3.

\* These are evidently the “ *Naloubés*” of Mollien, whose territory, he says, is separated from that of the Biafares by the Rio Grande ; but he gives no further account of them. Malte Brun describes them under the name of Naloës, as a “ negro race, so completely mingled with the descendants of the original Portuguese, as not to be distinguishable from them. Their pursuits are agricultural and pastoral, and their country is exceedingly fertile.”—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 227. ;

is impossible for me to say, whether these people speak really different languages, or only different dialects of the same; but my *grumeta* interpreters always declared to me, that their languages were essentially different. There is a kind of Portuguese *patois*, which may be called the commercial language of the sea-coast, current with them all. These various tribes have a general resemblance; but a little observation will readily enable one to discriminate the people of one tribe from those of another. The Manjacks are of middling stature, generally ill-featured, and exceedingly revengeful. The Papels, of which nation were the greater number of my *grumetas*, are of common stature, tolerably good-looking, and are an industrious, faithful people; but the Portuguese, who for nearly two centuries have had an establishment upon their island of Bissao, contrive always to sow dissensions among them, and so keep them ever at war with each other. Of this establishment, I will here give a short account.

“ On the east side of that island, nearly opposite to the isle of Sorcières, the Portuguese have built a large, regular, square fort, with four bastions, on which are mounted nearly fifty guns. The garrison always consists of about three hundred soldiers, who are generally, if not always, convicts.\* Though we do not know the precise time when the Portuguese

\* “ The fort has certainly been built since the year 1703, because in that year, on account of the decline of their commerce, and the establishment which the French had made upon the same island, they found their profits so unequal to the maintenance of their establishments, that they demolished the fort, and abandoned the island to their more active and enterprising rivals in commerce.” Mollien says, the fort of Bissao was built only sixty years ago: it is very spacious, but could not resist a European attack. It stands in latitude 11° 18' N. A Franciscan convent formerly existed there, but it is now in ruins.—Mollien, p. 333.

re-established themselves on this island, yet we know that, with little intermission, they have been fixed there for nearly two hundred years ; possibly more. Of their formerly numerous fortifications, this is now the only one they have left in this neighbourhood ; and their trade and consequence are greatly diminished. The present trade is confined to four annual ships, which arrive from Lisbon, (having in their way stopped at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, to procure certain cotton cloths, the manufacture of that island, and which are here in great estimation,) with cargoes adapted to the purchase of slaves ; and they carry hence, besides ivory, wax, and hides, about two thousand of them every year to Brazil, whence they return to Portugal with sugar, tobacco, rice, and other productions of that colony.

“ The merchants of Bissao procure this number of slaves by means of a class of natives called *grumetas*, who have generally been brought up from infancy in their houses, and who are an honest, industrious, and faithful class. They navigate all their small craft, whether canoes, or decked schooners and sloops ; and carry on, for their principals, all the commerce of the country. The merchant, who seldom quits his own habitation, sends them with goods to the value of a certain number of slaves, either to Zinghicor, Cacheo, Geba, or any other place, where they make their purchases, and then return to their employers, who are seldom cheated or deceived by them ; never, I believe, if their own conduct has been to them upright and just. Most of these slaves are procured from the Mandingoes at Geba ; some from the Cacheo and Casamanza rivers ; very few from the Biafaras, or the Bijugas, but many from the Naloos. All these, however, would not supply their demand, if they had not found out

means of procuring a great number from the Papels, on whose island they are fixed. This island, though little more than forty miles long, is, unfortunately for its inhabitants, governed by no fewer than thirteen kings, who are seldom, if ever, altogether at peace. These petty wars, instigated and cherished by the Portuguese, furnish them with a considerable number of slaves. But, so hateful has the conduct of that nation been, that none of it ever venture to visit the interior of the island, and, indeed, are not safe out of the reach of their own cannon.”\*

Of these various nations, some further account may be collected from the pages of the French Travellers. We shall begin with the Feloops, of whom M. Golberry gives the following description.

“The Feloops go nearly naked, except a very small apron. They bind the upper part of the arms and the part near the wrist, the upper part of the thighs, the knees, the legs, and the ancles, with laces of leather, so tight that the intermediate parts are unnaturally distended. They scarify their face and body, and imprint on them all kinds of fantastic figures. Their hair is very woolly and curly, but longer than that of negroes in general: they gather it together on the top of the head into a tuft, which stands erect, and is five or six inches in length. Their beard also, which they let grow, they collect and twist so that it projects many inches from the chin. They are covered with *grigris* (charms). Their colour is a deep black, but their skin is rough. Their features are tolerably regular, and have more affinity with those of the blacks of India than with those of the negroes. In stature, they are small and

\* Beaver, pp. 316–322.



short, but are strong and nimble runners. Their physiognomy is gloomy, and they are taciturn in their manners. They converse but little with their neighbours, and they are very jealous of their women, who, however, are not handsome. They always carry quivers filled with poisoned arrows ; these quivers are placed transversely on their backs, fastened to a strong leathern shoulder-belt. In their left hand, they hold a bow six feet in length, and they carry likewise four or five lances, which they throw with great dexterity.....Although savage, dull, and not communicative, their neighbours do not complain of them, and the Feloops pass for good people ; but they are warlike, and, if offended, avenge themselves with ferocity.

“ Though the Feloops communicate very little with the factories on the Gambia, yet, their intercourse is very considerable with the Portuguese establishments on the Casamança and on the other rivers to the southward, as far as the Nuno-Tristao (Nunez) ; and I have been assured, that these negroes frequent them habitually and familiarly.” \*

The language of the Feloops, this Traveller says, is rude ; they speak very quick, and their pronunciation is indistinct and guttural. Mr. Park has given their numerals, which are peculiar, and, like those of most of the African nations, proceed by fives. “ In their traffic with Europeans,” he tells us, “ the Feloops generally employ a factor or agent of the Mandingo nation, who speaks a little English, and is acquainted with the trade of the river. The broker makes the bargain, and, with the connivance of the European, receives a certain part only of the pay-

\* Golberry, vol. ii. pp. 294—6.

ment, which he gives to his employer as the whole : the remainder (which is very truly called the ‘cheating money’) he receives when the Feloop is gone, and appropriates to himself as a reward for his trouble.”\* Under these circumstances, the Europeans have no inducement to learn the Feloop language ; the Mandingo being the general medium of commercial intercourse. Mr. Park characterises the Feloops as “a wild and unsociable race.” The striking difference of their physiognomy, language, and manners, from those of the surrounding tribes, gives some interest to the question of their origin. The total population of this tribe is estimated by Golberry at 50,000 individuals. They occupy between sixty and seventy villages, the most distant inland being at the sources of the Casamanca, in woods from which they rarely emerge.

Of the various nations who are in the practice of trading with the Portuguese of Bissao, M. Mollien gives the following account.

“The Bisagoes occupy the Archipelago of the same name at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and that part of the continent contiguous to it. They are the bravest and most powerful of the negro tribes in all this part of Africa. Almost all of them have muskets or lances, which they use with much address. Obeying an infinite number of petty despots, instead of one tyrant, they have a thousand. I saw the whole family of a minister of one of these monarchs arrive at Bissao, which, by one of those capricious freaks so common among African princes, was sent to be sold at the European settlement : it consisted of thirteen persons.

\* Park, vol. i. p. 5.

The diet of this people is extremely simple: a few bananas or palm-nuts appease their hunger during the short voyages they make from their islands to the main. They spend much of their time in fishing, and trade in tortoise-shell. A deer-skin serves them for clothing; interwoven rushes form the garments of their women. The muscular strength of arm, the harsh features, and the quick movements of the Bisagoes, prove that they are fit for combat. In a canoe, the fragility of which renders it every moment liable to be swallowed up, they brave the dangers of a sea voyage: Tobacco and brandy are the only articles of barter by which they are tempted. Zealous friends of the Portuguese, they bear an implacable hatred against other European nations.\*

“The territory of the Papels, extends from the river Geba to that of Cacheo. These people are brave, like the Bisagoes: they use no other weapon than a very long sabre, which they use with great dexterity against their enemies, even though provided with fire-arms. Large herds of oxen constitute the chief wealth of the Papels: they fatten their cattle with rice straw. They are all Pagans, and visit the island called (by the French) *Ile Sorcière*, opposite Bissao, for the purpose of sacrificing oxen to their deities. On the death of their relatives, the women cover their heads, which are always shaved, with wet clay. Several less numerous tribes are inclosed in the territory of the Papels; among others, the Birames and

\* M. Mollien tells a somewhat incredible story of their seizing an Englishman who had gone among them to buy provisions, and attempting to smoke him black, that they might be able to sell him for a slave. Not the least improbable part of the story is, that the poor man was rescued from his perilous situation by the Portuguese.

the Mandiagoes,\* who hire themselves to the Portuguese as sailors, and work till they have earned sufficient to return to their own country to settle. All these tribes clothe themselves with the skins of beasts or with cotton cloths. Their wretched appearance gives them a savage look, ill calculated to induce the traveller to visit their country, which is almost always inundated. Not having any horses, they ride upon their small oxen, the strength and docility of which are surprising. The Papels have withstood the power of the Portuguese longer than any other nation in this part of Africa. The valuable presents they have received from them, have softened their naturally ferocious character.

“ On the frontiers of the Papels dwell the Balantes, whose language is entirely different.† The Portuguese have little communication with this cruel and savage people. Their industry is confined to the sale of salt, from which their ignorance prevents their deriving much profit. The Balantes are still more ugly than the Papels: the features of the women are as coarse as those of the men. A girdle of reeds is their only covering. The Bisagoes eat dogs: the Balantes regard rats as so exquisite a dainty, that their children are forbidden to touch this dish, which is reserved for the palates of adults and princes. There are as many chiefs as villages among these Pagan tribes, who, differing in language as much as in manners, are incessantly at war with one another.

“ On the banks of the Geba river, opposite to

\* These must be the Manjacks of Beaver, the inhabitants of Jatt's Island.

† To Captain Beaver, the Balantes did not appear to differ perceptibly from their neighbours the Papels; but he had no intercourse with them.



Bissao, are the Jolas or Biafaras, whose territory extends inland as far as Koli, on the frontier of the Basarés, a nation reported to be cannibals. The Biafaras are indisputably the handsomest negroes on this part of the coast. Their manners perfectly resemble those of the Mandingoes, from whom they differ, however, in religion and language. They wear large drawers and a tunic with wide sleeves, and are covered with *gris-gris*. They are intelligent and industrious. The great quantity of cotton grown in their country, enables them to manufacture much cloth, which they sell to their neighbours. Their whole commerce is carried on by the Rio Grande, at Bilola, whither they take many slaves. If trade, by enriching them, has softened their manners, it has deprived them of that masculine courage which is the offspring of poverty, for they are said to be cowards. The continual incursions which the Papels make upon them, incessantly expose them to the loss of the property they have acquired by their industry, but which they know not how to preserve by their valour.\*

Captain Beaver speaks of this negro tribe in similar terms. "Of all the people that we had communication with on the coast of Africa," he says, "the Biafaras are by far the most mild, peaceable, and inoffensive. In their persons, they are rather tall, but of a slender, feminine make; and they have a wonderful propensity to talking. Instead of the robust, compact bodies of their neighbours, the Bijugas, they exhibit in their persons what would probably be termed by our damsels, the genteel figure of Africa."

The Bijugas above-mentioned are the Bisagoes of Mollien. According to Captain Beaver, they bear not

\* Mollien, pp. 340—344.

the smallest resemblance, except in colour, to the surrounding nations ; and they are, of all the African tribes on this coast, the most uncivilized, faithless, and warlike. They are distinguished, among their neighbours, by the appellation of wild men. His description of them is as follows.

“ The Bijugas are above the middle size, muscular, bony, and well-proportioned ; they have the appearance of great strength and activity. Their noses are more elevated, and their lips less thick than their neighbours ; their teeth good, which are sometimes filed to a sharp point like the teeth of a saw ; their hair woolly, and shaped into every fanciful form that can be imagined, from wearing the whole of it, to none. What they do wear, is generally dressed with red ochre and palm-oil, as ours is with powder and pomatum. Every Bijuga is a warrior ; his amusement, the chase ; his delight, war. Not so far advanced in civilization as their neighbours, they are ignorant of weaving cotton into cloth : a deer or goat-skin is, therefore, the only dress of the men. In their arms, they are more splendid. A long buccaneer gun, kept in the most perfect order, is carried in the right hand ; a solingen sword, about four feet long, and as sharp as a razor, (not figuratively speaking, for it is sometimes employed as one,) is slung on the left shoulder, the hilt of it coming close under the arm. In his left hand, he holds a round, convex shield, formed of interlaced withes, covered with buffalo's hide. The same hand grasps a spear. Except a few days in the year, when he prepares the ground for, and sows rice, war and the chase are his sole occupation ; and he is never without his arms, to keep which in the most perfect order, is his greatest pride. No

people understand the use of them better than they do. With their gun, they seldom miss their object ; and, with their spear or *assagaye*, I have seen them strike a reed about ten inches long, and not thicker than a tobacco-pipe, at the distance of twenty yards ; and in the use of the broad sword, they are more active and expert than any people whom I have ever seen. When they attack, they first discharge their guns, kneeling, and supporting the left elbow on the left knee ; they then throw it down, and, advancing to a proper distance, covering themselves with their shield, they launch their *assagaye*, and then have recourse to their sword. They approach squatting, with their shield nearly covering their whole body : its convex form is admirably adapted to turn off the enemy's shot ; indeed, a musket-ball will not penetrate it..... They war with every body, and always plunder the weak ; but there is one nation, against which they are particularly inveterate, no living person remembering even a tradition of peace between them. This nation, the Biafara, is held in such sovereign contempt by them, that, regardless of numbers, wherever they meet, they attack them. The island of Bulama was for a long time the chief object of contention between these hostile nations ; till at length, the Biafaras, tired and worn out with the continual attacks of their martial neighbours, evacuated the island, and retired to Ghinala, up the Rio Grande. Here, however, they would not be safe, if, happily for them, the Bijugas were not far behind all their neighbours in their knowledge of the adjacent shores, and in the management of boats. This is the more remarkable, as an insular situation has always been supposed favourable to early improvement in the navigation and

management of boats and small vessels. Yet, these people, although all their predatory incursions are made on the water, have not yet learned to use a sail ; notwithstanding that all the boats that visit their islands, or that are navigated by the neighbouring nations, use sails as well as oars ; and they have never yet ventured so far up the Rio Grande as Ghinala.

“ As to their confined notions of religion, I believe that they are the same as those of their neighbours ; but they have one peculiarity,—and that is, sacrificing a cock, prior to their undertaking any thing serious, or sanctioning any weighty measure ; such as the undertaking an expedition for plunder, selling one of their islands, or even entering into trade with a person whom they have not known. Should a white stranger go to their island, with a view to forming any connexion with them, they would previously sacrifice one or more cocks ; and from the examination of the gizzard, I was given to understand, they pretend to ascertain whether the motives of his visit are good or evil.” \*

M. Golberry represents these islands as of volcanic formation ; adding, that vestiges of volcanic phenomena are to be traced all along the coast from Cape Blanco to Cape Palmas, more particularly between Cape St. Mary and Cape Verga. Nothing, Captain Beaver says, can be more erroneous than this representation, both the islands and the continent being, in this part, composed of a fine, dark, rich mould, without either rock, stone, lava, or scorixæ, and scarcely any where more than 60 feet above the level of the sea. They

\* Beaver, pp. 334—338. “ It is singular,” adds the Writer, “ that the presents I received (at Bulama) from the women of Bellchore and Jalorem (two petty chiefs), and the king of Suoga, were always cocks, and generally perfectly white ones.”



are evidently alluvial, having, in the course of ages, been formed by the deposite of the Rio Grande and the neighbouring streams, on the large sand-bank which forms their base. None of them are more than half a dozen leagues in length; they rise gradually from the shore towards the interior, are extremely fertile, and richly clothed with wood. The island of Bulama, which is to the east of the Bijuga groupe, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, is between seven and eight leagues in length, its breadth varying from two to five, and the land rising gradually to about 50 feet above the sea. With the exception of some natural savannahs and the cleared grounds, the island is covered with wood of various species, from the majestic oak and close-grained iron wood, to the soft, porous *pullam*, or cotton-tree. Immense herds of elephants and buffaloes, monkeys, and four species of deer, inhabit these woods. Indigo grows wild, and the sugar-cane and cotton-shrub flourish here, as well as on the adjacent continent; yams also, which, next to rice, form the principal food of the natives, grow wild on this island; besides which, the sweet cassada or manioc, maize, ground-nuts, and an indigenous species of ground-pea, are consumed in considerable quantities. There are moreover, plantains, bananas, guavas, papaws, water-melons, pines, oranges, limes, and other fruits, and a species of vine, producing a purple grape exceedingly sour.\*

The advantageous position of this island for commerce, had not escaped the notice of the French; and so early as 1700, M. de la Brue, Director-General of the French Senegal Company, had pointed it out as an eligible spot for a colony. The first attempt to esta-

\* To these, Malte Brun adds, the coffee-shrub and the tea-shrub.

lish a European settlement upon it was, however, made in 1792, by a philanthropic association of English gentlemen, whose ultimate object was to promote the civilization of Africa. The history of this ill contrived and ill executed, though well intended expedition, is given at length by Captain Beaver,\* who has displayed great anxiety to prove, that the causes of failure originated in mismanagement, and are not referrible to any impracticability or even difficulty in the enterprise. All due precautions against the deleterious effects of the humid climate having been neglected, a dreadful mortality ensued ; the colony fell to ruin, and is now annihilated.

The river of Nuno Tristao, so named from the Portuguese discoverer, discharges itself to the S. of the Bijuga Islands, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 15'$ . “ It is asserted,” says M. Golberry, “ that, in ascending this fine river, about 50 leagues from the sea, there are yet to be seen many ruins and vestiges of some very considerable establishments, formed there by the Portuguese at the period of its discovery, and many of the descendants of these first conquerors are still living there. The banks of this river are peopled by a race of negroes, called Nalöez ; and many families of the Foulah negroes have also formed establishments there.” †

\* An Abstract will be found in Murray's Hist. Account, vol. ii. pp. 277—285.

† These are the Naloubes already described, who, according to Golberry, are an intelligent and peaceable people, and have made some progress in agriculture and the useful arts, in consequence of their intercourse with the Portuguese. The descendants of the first settlers, he says, are so completely intermingled with the natives as to have become negroes too. Captain Beaver describes the Naloos as “ a middle-sized, well-proportioned people ;” but more ugly, in general, than their neighbours, the flat nose and thick lip being particularly predominant ; and they are said to be a treacherous race.—Golberry vol. ii. pp. 162, 3. Beaver, p. 325.

This river, the mouth of which is two leagues in width, affords, according to this Traveller, an easy inlet into the interior. It forms the southern limit of the Portuguese establishments, which do not extend, on the western coast, beyond Cape Verga, in latitude  $10^{\circ}$ . At this point, the high land begins on the coast, which continues to rise towards the south, till, at Sierra Leone, it becomes very elevated.

Between 13 and 14 leagues to the S. E. of Cape Verga, and 35 leagues N. E. of the entrance of the Bay of Sierra Leone, is a groupe of seven islands, to which the Portuguese gave the name of *Yola de los Idolos* (Islands of Idols). This has been corrupted into the Islands of Los. Three only are inhabited, the other four being nothing else, M. Golberry says, than a shapeless mass of volcanic rubbish. The largest and most westerly island, called by the natives Tamara, and by the English, King William's Island, is five leagues in length E. and W., by one in breadth, and has two harbours, where some English merchants have formed a settlement. The soil is fertile; and towards the centre of the island, the land rises into fine amphitheatres of wood. Its most elevated part is about 300 feet above the sea. The natives, who are called Forotimah, have three villages, each containing about 200 huts. The Island of Los Idolos, which gives to the groupe its general name, is the most easterly, being not more than two leagues from Domba Point. It is nearly three leagues in length from N. to S., its general shape being that of a boot. The English have here some very fine factories, docks, and warehouses. These islands are said to enjoy a remarkably salubrious climate, for which they are indebted to their elevation above the sea, to the breezes which regularly, at sun-rise and sun-set,

temper the oppressive heats, and to abundant springs of fresh and limpid water. Light vessels and boats are built of the wood of the country, by the natives, under the direction of a small number of Whites, with which they enter the numerous rivers that fall into the roads. The river Kapatch, the mouth of which is about five leagues S.E. of the Rio Nunez, is large and deep, and ascends far up the country, but is obstructed by banks and islets : its fertile borders are inhabited by the Bagoes. The next river is the Rio Pongeos, the borders of which are inhabited by "Foulah-Soosoos," who carry on a constant intercourse with Teembo, the capital of their nation.\* Immediately opposite to Los Idolos, the Dymby and the Dania empty themselves into the sea. Their water territories occupied by the industrious Bagoes, who are hunters, fishers, shepherds, and cultivators, and deal in salt, cotton, cloths, and slaves. Kuyaport, Barria, and Kissey, are the names of three other rivers, the banks of which are peopled by Soosoos. To the S.E. of the Kissey river, the sea forms a gulf three leagues in extent, beyond which is the mouth of the Sama river ; and still further south are the rivers of Berery and Scarsies. The countries which they water, are extremely fertile and well peopled ; and the Foulah-Soosoos established on their banks, carry on an extensive commerce in ivory, dyeing woods, wax, cattle, and poultry. All the rivers which fall into the sea between Cape Verga and the Island of Leopards, descend from the western valleys of a range of moun-

\* The propriety of this designation is very questionable. The Soosoos, who have erroneously been called the Foulahs of Guinea, are a totally distinct people, though now, as it should seem, subject to the Foulahs of Teembo. Their language is entirely dissimilar.



tains running N. and S., the summits of which are 40 leagues from the sea.\* These are the mountains of Foota Jallon.

The Sierra Leone river, or rather estuary, is formed by two rivers, the Mitombo, flowing from the N.E., and the Bunce, or Rokelle, from the S.E. These, about eight leagues from the sea, unite their waters in a channel nearly three leagues in breadth, which progressively expands into a beautiful bay seven leagues in breadth, terminated by the Cape of Leopards on the N., and that of Sierra Leone on the S.† Owing to the rapidity of the waters, some considerable sandbanks are formed in the bay, which render its north-eastern half inaccessible to large vessels; but to the S.E. is a fine channel, more than a league in breadth, and from seven to ten fathoms in depth, extending as far as Gambia Island. About a league from the point of the Cape of Sierra Leone, on the southern coast, begins what is called Pirates' Bay,‡ from a gang of buccaneers] who were at one time the terror of the coast; and half a league from Pirates' Bay is the anchorage of the English settlement. This road is, in fact, a creek about 400 fathoms in length and 500 in width, with a good bottom, where vessels may anchor in ten fathom water. At the bottom of this creek, on an elevation 40 feet above the sea, stood the factory of the Sierra Leone Company.

\* The preceding details are given on the authority of Golberry, vol. ii. ch. 23. They are, we fear, not free from inaccuracies.

† In lat.  $8^{\circ} 35'$  and  $8^{\circ} 18'$ .

‡ These pirates had for seven years pursued their atrocious depredations, when, in 1730, the merchants of Havre and Nantz fitted out an armament for the purpose of exterminating them, which was effected with complete success.—Golberry, vol. ii. p. 177.

## SIERRA LEONE.\*

THE entrance of the Bay of Sierra Leone is described by M. Golberry as presenting a scene of most romantic beauty. "When we reach the entrance of the bay, the eye is immediately attracted by a deep valley, which is entirely covered by the river, leaving no greater space, at most, than a hundred fathoms between its waters and the woods and hillocks which form its banks. On the right hand, the ground is low: on the left, it rises into amphitheatres covered with majestic trees of remarkable grandeur, and adorned with foliage rich, various, and luxuriant. The masts of vessels at anchor near the village of Sierra Leone, two other negro villages, the busy movements of men, of boats and pirogues returning from fishing, all conspired to animate this interesting landscape. Europe may present prospects more rich and brilliant, but in no part of the world can there be found a site so delightful as the Bay of Sierra Leone."†

Such are the glowing terms in which this French Writer paints a spot which, according to some persons in this country, deserves no better name than "a pestiferous charnel-house," a detestable place, having no one good quality to recommend it. In this vehement and unqualified language, it is easy to detect the influence of party prejudice or interested hostility; but, from representations of so opposite a character, it is not easy to deduce a correct estimate of the real re-

\* When the Portuguese discovered these places, they called the promontory to the S. of the present settlement, Cape Ledo, and the mountains in the interior, Sierra Leone, the Mountain of the Lioness. This name, somewhat disfigured, has been improperly extended to the Cape, the River, and the adjacent district.

† Golberry, vol. i. p. 30.

commendations of the place; and the geographer, in simply describing a settlement which has been the subject of so violent a controversy, can scarcely avoid giving offence to the partisan. Before we attempt this delicate task, we must lay before our readers a brief sketch of the origin and history of this interesting colony.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who formed settlements on the river of Sierra Leone; they were afterwards followed by all the European nations. The river of Mitombo, according to Golberry, was included within the limits of the French "Government of the Senegal;" but he complains that, since 1784, the French had barely maintained themselves in the river, on the little island of Gambia, a bad situation for a factory; while the English had established two superb settlements, one at the village of Sierra Leone, and the other on the island of Bunce.\*

The idea of establishing a free negro settlement at Sierra Leone, was first suggested in 1783, by Mr. Smeathman, an ingenious and worthy man, who had resided for some time in that part of Western Africa: it was warmly advocated by the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, but was as vehemently opposed by the West India planters. Mr. Smeathman died before he could carry his benevolent project into execution; but in the mean time, the measure had been taken up by that eminent philanthropist, Mr. Granville Sharp, as affording the best remedy for an inconvenience that had grown

\* "The ruins of a slave-factory still appear upon Bunce Island, near the mouth of the Rokelle, which was distinguished, during the existence of that diabolical traffic, for the number of unfortunate victims which it sent to the western world. The island is now the site of an extensive timber-manufactory."—Laing, p. 93.

out of his benevolent exertions on behalf of the enslaved Africans. After the memorable decision of Lord Mansfield in favour of the negro Somerset, in June 1772, had established the claims of the negro to the protection of the British laws, in the capacity of a British subject, on his touching the English shores,—great numbers of blacks who had been brought to England and turned adrift by their masters, or who had served in the army or navy during the war, and were then without either pay or claim to parochial relief, flocked to Mr. Sharp for protection and support; to the number at one time, it is said, of 400. By means of the voluntary subscription which he set on foot, they were rescued from starvation; but the expense of permanently maintaining them, was far beyond so precarious a provision. A somewhat Utopian scheme of an African settlement had for some time occupied his thoughts, when Mr. Smeathman's proposal was mentioned to him, and his advice respecting it was solicited by the very parties he sought to relieve.\* Mr. Sharp entered warmly into the plan; and the British Government, who had long regarded the number of negro mendicants as a nuisance, readily consented to lend their assistance to the project. On the death of Mr. Smeathman, at the critical moment of its execution, Mr. Sharp stood involved in all the expenses which had attended its outset; but Government interposed to make good the offers that had been made to the colonists; and the transports sailed, under convoy of the Nautilus sloop of war, Captain Thompson, on the 8th of April, 1787.

\* “In the mean time,” says Mr. Sharp, in a letter dated January 1788, “a proposal was made to them by the late Mr. Smeathman, to form a free settlement at Sierra Leone. Many of them came to consult me about the proposal: sometimes they came in large bodies together.”—Hoare's *Memoirs of Sharp*, p. 260.



The commencement of the enterprise was most inauspicious. The negroes sent out amounted to somewhat more than 400, to which number were added about 60 Europeans, chiefly women. "During a long detention of these poor people in the channel, and during their passage to Sierra Leone, they were extremely unhealthy,—in most instances, from disorders brought on board with them, and aggravated by intemperance. In consequence of the delays that had occurred, they were landed in the rainy season, when no sufficient order or regularity could be established among them; and, being exposed to the weather, a great portion of them very soon died. In the course of the first year, their numbers were reduced nearly half: many died before they reached the coast, and a great number in a short time after their landing; some few also had deserted. The remainder, however, were still sufficient for building a small town.

"After the first year, no extraordinary mortality prevailed. In the two succeeding years, not more than five or six of the settlers died, out of two hundred who were in the same town. During that time, they gradually improved in their circumstances; and though far from being regularly industrious, were able to supply themselves with a sufficiency of food, and to secure a small but constantly increasing property. They were, however, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of all the natural advantages of the country; and being chiefly men of unsettled habits, so many migrated to the neighbouring parts, that the community was at one time in the most imminent danger of extinction.

"The arrival, at this critical moment, of a small brig, called the *Myro*, laden with various articles of

considerable present use to the necessities of the settlers, preserved the infant colony. The distressed wanderers found, in its appearance on their coast, a renovation of hope ; and as they had learned, by dangerous experiment, that they could not subsist so well in any other place, the greater part of them returned to the settlement. On this occasion also, a confirmation of the original grant of land was obtained from Naimbanna, the king of Sierra Leone, who resided at the small island of Rohanna, between the English slave-factory at Bance Island and the French one at Gambia.

“ But, towards the end of the year 1789, while the colony was again in a state of advance, the settlers received a formal notice from a great council of the neighbouring chief, that he had resolved on burning their town, in retaliation for a similar injury done to his own capital by the marines and crew of an English ship of war ; and that he allowed them three days for the removal of their goods. They had no resource ; they fled from their homes, and abandoned their plantations ; and the judicial sentence was carried into execution at the appointed time. This attack was an overwhelming blow to the colony, and threatened it once more with entire annihilation. But the same provident care which had sent the Myro to its aid in its utmost need, had also secured the means of affording it further protection, by the establishment of a Company in England (called the St. George’s Bay Company), united for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent design of the founder ; and a memorial was now addressed to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his Royal Charter of Incorporation. Accordingly, in September, 1790, the Company’s agent, Mr. Falconbridge, set

sail, with a commission to examine and report the state of the colony, and to afford a temporary relief to the distress that had ensued, until the grant of the Charter should enable the Directors to take more effective and permanent measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

“ Mr. Falconbridge arrived about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers ; and collecting as many of the fugitives as he could any where discover, brought them to a new settlement above Foura Bay, about two miles further than the former from the town of the chief who had invaded them : here, they took possession of some deserted houses, and about four acres of land were cleared, and planted with yams and cassada, and sown with English seeds. This little body of settlers was supplied by Mr. Falconbridge with muskets, ammunition, and articles of cutlery, which they might barter for necessaries ; and he reported them, at his departure from the coast, as likely, with very little labour, to maintain themselves in the same manner as before their dispersion. They at that time amounted in all to sixty-four. The males, though disorderly and turbulent, appeared to be warmly attached to the Company, and resolutely bent on defending themselves. The new settlement received the name of Granville Town, in honour of their original protector and friend. The affairs of the Company, therefore, now began to assume a more promising aspect. Reports from various quarters confirmed the favourable accounts which had at first been given of Sierra Leone ; and the Charter of Incorporation being at length obtained, a considerable capital was raised for carrying on the trade of the settlement. The Directors, persuaded that the effective utility, and even the security

of the establishment of which they had undertaken the care, would in a great measure depend on an increase in the number of settlers, prepared measures for that purpose; when an opportunity offered, which appeared to meet their wishes, of strengthening the colony by an additional body of free negroes acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to the labour of hot climates.

“ A negro, named Peters, arrived in England from Nova Scotia, as a delegate from many of his countrymen. These men, during the American war, had been induced to enlist in the British army, by the King’s proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the royal standard; and when the war was terminated, they were carried to Nova Scotia, under a promise of regular allotments of land; which promise, however, had unfortunately not been fulfilled; and the climate of Nova Scotia being unfavourable to them, they, to the number of 300 or 400, were now desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra Leone. The Directors immediately applied to Government, to know if it would defray the expenses of their passage; and being favourably answered, availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, of his Majesty’s navy, to bring the new colonists over to Sierra Leone; strictly stipulating, however, the terms of their admission in conformity to the original design of the settlement, and allowing the reception of such only as could produce certificates of their good conduct and morals. Each settler was to receive a lot of land, of twenty acres.

“ Lieutenant Clarkson set sail on the 19th August, 1791, and, on his arrival at Nova Scotia, found, to his surprise, that the number of black people who were desirous to embark for Sierra Leone, far exceeded



the account given by their delegate : not fewer than 1196 were brought on board. It was obvious, that the accession of so large a body of people could not fail to produce the most important consequences to the infant settlement. Their numerous wants would demand instant supply, and the Directors, therefore, turned their utmost attention to that point ;—bringing forward, also, a plan for the enlargement of the Company's capital at home, which was much increased by new subscriptions, after the intended junction of the Nova Scotia loyalists had been made public.

“ The first vessel sent out by the Company from England, reached Sierra Leone in February 1792, and was soon followed by two others ; carrying out in all, rather more than one hundred Europeans ; of whom above forty were Company's servants or artificers at a yearly salary ; ten were settlers ; sixteen were soldiers ; and between thirty and forty were women and children.

“ In the succeeding month, the Nova Scotia fleet arrived, consisting of sixteen vessels, from which were landed 1131 blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, first contracted in Halifax, and of which sixty-five had died during the passage. Lieutenant Clarkson, whose humanity had led him to embark on board the hospital-ship, had narrowly escaped with his life from a violent attack of the same disorder. The Nova Scotians then proceeded to construct the requisite buildings, though with less speed than, considering the near approach of the rainy season, might have been wished. The several streets having been marked out by the surveyor, they began, each one for himself, to erect small temporary huts, using the common materials of the country, except

that the flooring was furnished, in some instances, from England. A public wharf and warehouse were likewise begun ; and the rising town was named Free-town, in consequence of instructions from the Directors to that purpose.

“ The precautions that had been taken, and the liberal supplies that had been sent out from England, proved alike ineffectual to prevent a considerable mortality among the new colonists, when the rainy period arrived : they experienced from it the same distress which had been felt by the former settlers. The rains began about the third week in May, preceded by tornadoes of dreadful violence. Many of the settlers’ houses were not yet completed ; the Company’s store-houses were but imperfectly built ; and their servants were ill accommodated. The soldiers also were liable, from various causes, to be much exposed ; and the few European settlers who had lately arrived from England, were least of all prepared to meet the impending difficulties. The high degree of health which almost universally prevailed antecedently to the rains, by inspiring too great a confidence in the climate, had perhaps occasioned some remissness in making the requisite preparations. The building of a temporary town having necessarily engrossed the attention both of the Nova Scotians and of the Company’s servants, no lots of land had yet been marked out ; nor had any step worthy of being mentioned been taken with a view to commerce, although some goods for trade had been sent out with the very first ships. The necessary previous stores of fresh provisions were found to be wanting at the arrival of the rains ; and the unsettled state of affairs tended to aggravate the distresses of the colony. The sickness which ensued, was most severe. About 800 blacks were supposed to

be laid up at one time; and very few passed through the whole of this trying season without some indisposition. The disorder, which was the fever common to hot climates, while it affected the blacks and whites almost indiscriminately, proved much the most fatal to the Europeans; and especially to those residing on shore; among whom the mortality was at one time so great, as to excite reasonable apprehensions concerning the practicability of the whole undertaking. In the height of the sickness, all the medical persons, with but one exception, were laid up, so that very few of the sick could be properly attended; and many perished for want of the timely aid which there were no means of affording. The store-keepers, inhabiting a damp store-house; were some of the first victims: increasing difficulty and confusion in the delivery of the stores, were the consequence. The doors of the store-house were continually crowded; but neither food; nor physic and other necessaries for the sick, (though these had been amply supplied by the directors,) could be properly distributed. A great depression of spirits at the same time generally prevailed; which produced a total helplessness in the case of one or two families from England, and proved one chief aggravation of the disorder. Almost one-half of the Europeans living on shore; were carried off during this dreadful season, and nearly one-tenth of the Nova Scotians.

“As soon as the general sickness began to abate, the chief object of the government's attention was the distribution of the promised lots of land;—a work more arduous than had been expected. It was found to be in the highest degree inexpedient to give at once to each individual his lot of twenty acres; as so large an allotment would necessarily throw many of

the settlers to an inconvenient distance from the town and river; besides that the very labour of cutting the necessary paths, and of measuring so large a tract of country, would have been too great to be easily accomplished in a single season. The Nova Scotians were so sensible of these objections, and so unwilling to be removed to a distance from the town, (as well as to pay a quit-rent for a greater portion of land than they could use,) that they preferred accepting smaller lots of four acres in the first instance, the right being reserved to them of claiming the remainder as it should be wanted. Of these smaller lots, they shewed the utmost eagerness to obtain possession, and no time was lost in commencing the location of them. Some spirited attempts were made, even before the rains had entirely ceased, but were checked by repeated sickness; and so great was the labour of measuring out the ground, that, although a large party of men was employed, and constant exertions were made, a considerable portion of the dry season was necessarily consumed before the survey of the lots could be completed. The distribution of them continued at several periods, from November to March; and the whole of this first allotment was completed in time for the crop of 1793. It was remarkable; however, that having once got possession of their lots, very few of the settlers exerted themselves in cultivating them; till compelled by actual necessity; the greater number preferring to live in the town, as long as they could earn a subsistence there by labouring at daily wages for the Company. Yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, as the dry season advanced, the colony displayed many symptoms of improvement. A garden of experiment was established, under the care of an eminent botanist (Dr. Afzelius);



and two plantations likewise were begun, on the Company's account, as an example of cultivation to others; one near Freetown, which was soon relinquished, and the other on the opposite side of the river; both worked by free-labourers.

“The site of Freetown was unquestionably the best that could be found in that vicinity for the salubrity of the air, the goodness of the water, and the excellence of the harbour. Considerable labour and expense were bestowed in improving the landing-place; and a large number of the Nova Scotia blacks were also employed in erecting a church, hospital, ware houses, and dwelling-houses for the Company's officers, (of which the frames had been sent from England,) and in the execution of some slight measures of defence with a view to the safety of the colony; among which, however, it was not yet thought necessary to include a regular fort.

“But there still existed much discontent among the settlers. They continued averse to making the exertions necessary for bringing their lands into cultivation, and were ready to entertain every idle rumour to the prejudice of the governor, who was naturally anxious for the commencement of their labours, and for the relief of the Company from the ruinous expense of maintaining them. War breaking out, at the same time, against France, and bringing with it very material impediments to the progress of the colony, their discontents grew at length to such a height, that it was deemed expedient to propose to them to send two delegates from their whole body to England, to represent their complaints: this proposal was accepted, and harmony was for a time restored.

“Every thing now promised favourably. Trade was extending. Cultivation advanced, though slowly.

The health of the colony greatly improved. The rainy season of 1793 was attended with complaints of a less formidable description than had before been experienced.\* The settlers seemed to be inured to the climate, and their children felt no bad effects from it. Just hopes were also entertained of improving morals. The schools which had been opened, were very regularly attended by the children of the settlers and natives, to the number of 300. In the mean time, the two delegates, chosen by the body of Nova Scotians to represent their complaints to the Directors, being arrived in England, presented a petition, couched in very strong terms, holding forth as their principal grievances, the high price of goods at the Company's warehouses, the inadequacy of the wages paid to them for labour, the disappointment of some promises made to them by Lieutenant Clarkson, who had been governor in 1792, and some trifling charges of misconduct on the part of the governor (Mr. Dawes) who succeeded him. The Directors, after the most minute attention to the subject, judged the representations of the petitioners to be wholly founded on mistake and misinformation. The delegates at first received this decision with extreme dissatisfaction, but, having staid about two months longer in England, quitted it apparently well disposed to the Company.

“ Their return did not tend to promote the peace of the settlement, or to abate the turbulent and refractory spirit of a considerable portion of their countrymen. The jealousy and suspicion of the Company's European servants appeared to increase among the disaffected

\* Towards the close of this year, the York store-ship, freighted with a cargo of African produce, valued at 15,000*l.*, unfortunately caught fire, and was entirely consumed ; adding another heavy item to the Company's losses.

party, until, at length, an insurrection broke out, which menaced the life of the governor and the safety of the colony, but which was happily suppressed without bloodshed. Six of the insurgents, who were considered as the ringleaders, were removed from the colony, and an amnesty was granted to the rest. The effect of these examples was salutary. The commotion was succeeded by a season of quiet among the settlers, and by a more ready submission on their part to the authority of the laws."

But this gleam of prosperity was speedily overclouded by an unexpected and still more serious calamity. On the 28th of September, 1794, a French squadron appeared in the river; and as the colony had been lulled into a fatal security by the declaration of the French Convention, they plundered and destroyed the colonial town without meeting with any resistance. To this base and barbarous outrage, the French commodore, it seems, was instigated by an American slave-captain, who conceived himself to have been affronted by the governor, and who deceived the French with the hope of obtaining immense plunder. Nor was the destruction of Freetown the only loss which the funds of the Company sustained. The Harpy, their largest ship, fell into the enemy's hands, as well as two of their small trading vessels.\* The colony was now again plunged into the calamitous situation which the deficiency of provisions and the want of proper shelter had before occasioned. In the space of three weeks, an almost universal sickness prevailed among the Whites; and the destruction of the medicines greatly aggravated their sufferings. Some good effects, however,

\* The pecuniary loss sustained by the Company, was estimated at 40,000*l.*, exclusive of the buildings destroyed, which had cost 15,000*l.* more.

resulted from this calamitous visitation. It had a most salutary influence on the malcontents, so that harmony was for a time completely restored among the colonists; and the French squadron, which had been fitted out against the English slave-factories on the coast, by interrupting the traffic in slaves, increased the influence of the colony, and promoted its commercial views. By the spirited exertions of the Company, their affairs were soon retrieved from these complicated disasters; and the ensuing four years after the French invasion, may be considered as the most prosperous period of the colony prior to its transfer to the Crown.

“ Early in the year 1795, a factory was successfully established on the Rio Pongas, about twelve miles from its mouth, adjoining to the Foulah country. Great opposition was experienced from the neighbouring slave-dealers; but the settlement was protected against them by the native chiefs, who appeared to approve of the views of the Company.

“ In 1798, Freetown contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings. Three wharfs had been erected. The Government-house was completed, on an eminence commanding the town and harbour, protected by six pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony were about 1200, the heads of families being about 300. Of these, about one-half were supported by their farms; many were mechanics; and the rest followed various occupations, as retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. The town was also become a place of considerable resort for the neighbouring natives, of whom from one to two hundred daily visited the settlement, for the purpose of exchanging African produce for British manufac-



tures. Some came in canoes from a distance of eighty to one hundred miles.”

In the following year, 1799, symptoms of an insurrectionary spirit, more especially on the part of the Nova Scotians, which had only been slumbering, induced the Directors to apply to the British Government for a charter to increase the powers of the Governor and Council, who hitherto had been unarmed with any legal power to enforce their authority. The charter was granted in 1800, creating the settlement an independent colony, and placing the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the Governor. Before, however, it could reach Sierra Leone, the conspirators, finding that no time was to be lost in executing their scheme, which had for its object the complete overthrow of the Company's authority, broke out into open rebellion. Affairs were in the most critical state, the insurgents out-numbering the loyal settlers, and no alternative seemed left to the Governor but to hazard an attack upon the rebels, when a most providential occurrence rescued the colony once more from impending destruction. A large ship, the *Asia* transport, appeared in the river, having on board about 550 Maroons (including women and children) from Nova Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers under two officers of His Majesty's 24th regiment.

The rebellion was now speedily suppressed, although the insurgents at first treated with contempt the offer of an accommodation, and obstinately maintained their hostile position, till they found themselves attacked. They were routed at the first onset, two of their number being left dead on the spot; thirty-five prisoners were brought in, of whom three were selected for trial, and were executed; the rest were expelled the colony.

It was the wish of the governor and council, to procure for the Maroon settlers, the island of Bananas, about thirty miles south of Freetown; but their intention was frustrated through alarms raised in the minds of the natives by the slave-traders. It was, therefore, determined upon to grant them lands on the same side the river as the Company's settlement. Town lots were accordingly marked out for them in Granville Town, in November 1800, and farms were allotted to them near that place. They built a neat town for themselves, and began to cultivate their farms with spirit. A parliamentary grant indemnified the Company for part of the heavy expenditure and loss they had incurred; and a further sum of 5000*l*. was voted towards building a fort. A firmer system of order was beginning to prevail, when a sudden blow was again aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs, without any previous intimation or ground of complaint. On the 18th of November, 1801, about day-break, a body of natives, headed by two of the Nova Scotian insurgents who had effected their escape, made an assault on the palisades of the governor's house. After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and were pursued till they had withdrawn from the vicinity. In March 1802, a truce was concluded with them; and some additional troops having arrived from Goree, the peace of the colony was restored. There was reason, however, to apprehend that the chiefs who had made this unforeseen attack, were still busy in exciting among their countrymen an apprehension of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement; and the Directors were induced to present a memorial to the British Legislature, earnestly invoking a more efficient protection. Notwithstanding the truce which

had been concluded with the native chiefs, the colony was attacked in the following month, by a force amounting to more than 400 men, among whom were eleven of the rebel settlers who had been banished from the settlement. The attack was sudden and vigorous; and although the assailants were again repulsed with severe loss, the spirits of the settlers were so greatly damped, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the colony became general. The affairs of the Company became the more embarrassed, in consequence of the suspension of the annual grants from Government, pending a parliamentary inquiry which was instituted in 1803. In the Report of the Committee, made in the following year, it was stated to be their opinion, upon a full consideration of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the Company, and the interest which the British Government were bound to take in the settlement, that the great object for which the colony was undertaken, might be more effectually obtained by a transfer of the civil and military authority of the settlement to the Crown, and that it would be expedient to invite the proprietors to make a surrender of their rights to his Majesty. In pursuance of this recommendation, not unacceptable to the Company, a bill for transferring the colony to the Crown was brought into Parliament, which received the royal assent on the 8th of August, 1807; \* and on the 1st of January, 1808, the possession of the settlement was surrendered to the Crown, and the Company withdrew from its arduous and beneficent enterprise.†

\* The Act strictly prohibited the trade in slaves within the colony, and continued to the colonists the full enjoyment of all civil rights previously possessed under the Company.

† The preceding sketch has been taken from the *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq.*, by the late Prince Hoare, Esq.—pp. 259—311.

The obstacles which had thwarted the plans of the Chartered Company in this singular enterprise, we have seen, were, the want of sufficient power in the hands of its government, and the inadequacy of its force to restrain the aggressions of the neighbouring natives ; the narrow scale of the establishment ; the unfavourable character of the Nova Scotian Blacks who joined the first settlers ; the war with France ; and the unabated progress of the Slave-Trade. To these, according to the allegations of the enemies of the settlement, are to be added, incredible misconduct and mismanagement, a sterile territory, a pestilential climate, and the visionary projects of the philanthropists. Assertions, however, which come coupled with splenetic and malignant aspersions on the motives of the inestimable men who originated and conducted the benevolent enterprise, destroy their own claim to credit.\* The fact is, that a systematic and persevering attack has been carried on against Sierra Leone, from its first foundation, by all parties interested in upholding the slave-trade or the slavery system ; and to their secret machinations, the disasters which befel the infant colony, may be in great measure attributed. Nor was this hostility without adequate motive. By exposing the real nature of the slave-trade, and the artifices of the miscreants engaged in that infernal traffic, the settlement contributed most materially to bring about its abolition.

This offence might possibly have been ere this time

\* During the whole existence of the Sierra Leone Company, its chairman was Henry Thornton, Esq. M.P.; Charles Grant, Esq., M.P., was deputy chairman; and among the directors were, W. Wilberforce, Esq. M.P., Granville Sharp, Esq., Sir Charles Middleton (Lord Barham), Lord Teignmouth, Honourable E. J. Eliot, Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., Thomas Babington, Esq. M.P., John Inglis, Esq., Edward Parry, Esq., &c., &c.



forgiven ; but, by holding up the practicability of cultivation by means of free negro labour, and of negro civilization, the Colony has formed an eye-sore to the West India party, which renders them exceedingly desirous to accomplish its entire abandonment and destruction. With this view, it has been represented as a site altogether so ill-chosen as to be perfectly useless as a naval station ; utterly worthless as a commercial depôt ; the soil unsusceptible of culture ; as a residence, more destructive than the slave-trade ; and as an experiment of specious philanthropy, an utter failure.

It would, indeed, be marvellous, if, on a coast remarkably deficient in good harbours, one which the Portuguese, the French, and every other European nation have frequented, and which has hitherto enjoyed the reputation of being the only good station between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast, should prove to be utterly destitute of a single recommendation.\* That the climate is insalubrious to a European, there can be no doubt ; but this character attaches to it in common with the whole coast ; and compared with the settlements on the Senegal, with Cacheo and Bissao, and the Portuguese factories, with the Gold Coast or with the West Indies, there is strong reason to believe that the situation has greatly the advantage in point of healthiness.† With regard to the soil,

\* "If commerce were one of their principal objects," says Capt. Beaver, in a note containing a warm attack upon the Company, "they have chosen a tolerably good situation, with an excellent port."—*Afric. Mem.*, p. 307.

† From the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, May 1827, it appears that, from the original settlement in 1787, to February, 23, 1826, the total number of those who arrived as settlers in the colony, was 21,944 ; while the total population in April 1826, was 13,020 ; exhibiting an apparent decrease of 8924. This is brought

it is admitted that a great part of the territory is the reverse of fertile. There are round Freetown, several small plains of indurated claystone, covered with grass, which no man would ever think of cultivating; and the granite mountains of Sierra Leone are of course not adapted to cultivation. But, "in the valleys, in the plains up the river Sierra Leone, and below the river Kates, in the islands, and towards the Sherbro, the land," we are assured by a gentleman long a member of the Council, "is as good and as fertile as in any part of the world, and there is also excellent water-carriage."\* Major Gray,

forward as a specimen of the deadly climate of this "mortiferous paradise." The early misfortunes of the infant settlement, the bad state of health in which the Nova Scotians were landed, the repeated dispersion of the settlers, the effects of the French invasion, and the subsequent insurrections, are deemed unworthy of consideration as affecting the inference to be drawn from this estimate! It is remarkable, however, that, at the end of the first twenty years, in 1807, the total population amounted to only 1871 persons; whereas it now numbers upwards of 13,000. Other causes than the effects of climate, it is well known, influence the high rate of mortality in most of our colonies. The lower class of European adventurers are seldom men of good character; and that of the Nova Scotians and other settlers forced upon this colony, was notoriously bad. Mr. Macauley has, nevertheless, given a list of thirty-one individuals resident at Sierra Leone during periods of from eight and ten to twenty-five, twenty-eight, and thirty-seven years. Of these, seven died after a long term of constant residence; the rest are living, or died elsewhere. The greater number of the Europeans who lie buried at Calcutta, died under five-and-twenty, "cut off in the first two or three years of their residence." (MOD. TRAV., India, vol. iii. p. 59.) The European population of Jamaica is said to undergo a total change every seven years; that of New Orleans, in half that period; two-thirds of the Europeans who come to reside at Havana, die within six months after their arrival; and in some of the Dutch East India islands, the mortality is still greater. Mozambique was colonized with criminals from Goa, as a sentence equivalent to death.

\* Macauley's Colony of Sierra Leone Vindicated, p. 64. Captain

who visited Sierra Leone in 1821, thus speaks of its capabilities in respect to cultivation.

“From the change which has taken place in these villages since I saw them in 1817, I am satisfied that a little time is alone necessary to enable the colony of Sierra Leone to vie with many of the West India islands in all the productions of tropical climates, but particularly in coffee, which has been already raised there, and proved, by its being in demand in the English market, to be of as good quality, if not superior to that imported from our other colonies. That the soil on the mountains is well adapted to the growth of that valuable berry, has been too well proved by the flourishing state of some of the plantations in the immediate vicinity of Freetown, to need any comment. Arrow-root has also been cultivated with advantage on some of the farms belonging to private individuals; and there can be no doubt of the capability of the soil to produce the sugar-cane, as some is already grown there; but whether it is of as good a description as that of the West Indies, I cannot pretend to say, as the experiment had never been tried at Sierra Leone, at least to my knowledge. The cultivation of all these, with the cotton, indigo, and ginger, could here be carried on under advantages which our West India Islands do not enjoy; namely, the labour of free people, who would relieve the mother country from the apprehensions which are at present entertained for the

Beaver goes so far as to assert, that the Company had fixed, not upon *as bad* a spot for cultivation as could have been found for 100 leagues on either side of them, but upon the *worst*. “Upon the Bulom shore,” he adds, “the soil is very poor, but on the Sierra Leone side, there is scarcely any soil at all; and when they make a hog-head of sugar there, I will engage to do the same at Charing Cross.”—Beaver, p. 307. Mr. M<sup>rs</sup> Queen asserts, that there is neither soil nor cultivation in the place!

safety of property in some of those islands, by revolt and insurrection among the slaves, and from the deplorable consequences of such a state of civil confusion. Those people would, by receiving the benefits arising from their industry, be excited to exertions that must prove beneficial to all concerned in the trade, and conducive to the prosperity of the colony itself.

“Freetown, the capital of the peninsula, is of considerable extent, and is beautifully situate on an inclined plane, at the foot of some hills, on which stand the fort and other public buildings that overlook it and the roads; whence there is a delightful prospect of the town, rising in the form of an amphitheatre from the water's edge, above which it is elevated about 70 feet. It is regularly laid out into fine streets, intersected by others parallel with the river, and at right angles. The houses, which, a few years since, were for the most part built of timber, many of them of the worst description, and thatched with leaves or grass, are now replaced by commodious and substantial stone buildings, which both contribute to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and add to the beauty of the place; which is rendered peculiarly picturesque by the numbers of cocoa-nut, orange, lime, and banana trees, scattered over the whole town, and affording, in addition to the pine-apple and guava, that grow wild in the woods, an abundant supply of fruit. The Madeira and Teneriffe vines flourish uncommonly well in the gardens of some private individuals, and yield in the season a large crop of grapes. Nearly all our garden vegetables are raised there; and what with yams, cassada, and pom-pions, there is seldom any want of one or other of those almost necessary requisites for the table. There are good meat, poultry, and fish markets; and almost



every article of housekeeping can be procured at the shops of the British merchants.”\*

The inhabitants of Freetown, exclusive of the military, according to the returns of January 1822, amounted to 5643. Since that time, they have considerably increased.† But, besides the chief town, in consequence of the great increase of population from disbanded soldiers, and still more from captured negroes who have been liberated, a number of new towns have been founded in different parts of the territory. These settlements appear to have been made in the following order:—Leicester, 1809. Regent, 1812. Gloucester, 1816. Kissey, 1817. Leopold, 1817. Charlotte, 1818. Wilberforce, 1812; re-organised, 1818. Bathurst, 1818. Kent, 1819. York, 1819. Wellington, 1819. Hastings, 1819. Isles de Los, 1819. Banana Isles, 1820. Waterloo, 1820. Allen Town, 1826. Calmont, 1826. Grassfield, 1826. On Sir Neil Campbell's assuming the government of the colony, he formed these villages of the liberated Africans into three divisions. The Eastern or River District comprises Kissey, Wellington, Allen Town, Hastings, Waterloo, and Calmont: these villages lie to the S. E. of Freetown, along the eastern border of the colony, on the Bunce River, and in the Timmanee country. The Central or Mountain District comprises Leicester, Gloucester, Regent, (Wilberforce,) Bathurst, (Leopold,) Charlotte, and Grassfield.‡ The Western or Sea District comprises York, Kent, and the Bananas. The Banana Islands, which are five miles off

\* Gray, pp. 333—336.

† The total population of Sierra Leone, exclusive of the military, in 1820, was 12,509; in 1826, 13,020.

‡ Leopold appears to have been subsequently incorporated with Bathurst; and Wilberforce is, we believe, abandoned.

the coast, came into the possession of the British Government in 1819, at which time the population consisted of only a few Sherbros from the opposite coast, who had previously been in a state of slavery. They have since been used as a place of banishment for such persons as have rendered themselves obnoxious to the civil power by offences of greater or less magnitude, and, of course, exhibit the most unfavourable specimen of the population. It may be regarded, indeed, as the Botany Bay of Sierra Leone.

Kissey, one of the earlier settlements, takes its name from the mountainous country containing the sources of the Niger, the natives of which are said to be peculiarly savage and degraded. "They have no trade," Major Laing informs us, "except in slaves, which they sell to the people of Sangara for salt, tobacco, and country cloth; and in such a savage state of wretchedness and barbarism are they, that, without the least compunction, they will dispose of their relatives, wives, and even children.\* Several hundred natives of this savage country," continues this Traveller, "who have been liberated from slave-ships by the humane exertions of Great Britain, are established in a beautiful village, named after their own country, about four miles from Freetown; where, at the expense of the British Government, they have been clothed and fed, until able to support themselves by their own industry; and where they are now settled in the enjoyment of full security of person and of property. Under the same protecting influence, and by means of missionaries supplied by the Church Missionary Society, they have been educated as Christians; and all are instructed in reading and writing. These are benefits conferred on

\* In this respect, they resemble the Timmanees, mentioned hereafter.

Africa by British interference and protection, of which an Englishman may well be proud, and which are rapidly obtaining for Great Britain an influence in this vast continent, of a far deeper character than that which arises from temporary subjection. When the capabilities of Western Africa are duly considered, for producing, by its native population, the articles of immense consumption which are at present supplied from other countries under the far greater cost of forced labour, such measures will appear as politically wise as they are humane and beneficent.”\*

Into the charges of mal-administration and mismanagement, brought against those who have sustained the government or direction of the colony, it is scarcely within our province to enter. Instead of offering any opinion of our own upon so delicate a point, we shall cite the decision of an enlightened and impartial writer, the Author of the “Historical Account of Discoveries in Africa.” At the time that Sierra Leone was transferred to the hands of Government, the society was formed, which has since become so honourably known under the title of the African Institution, composed of

\* Laing, pp. 280—2. This Traveller asserts, that the disposition of the natives to civilization and improvement, is beyond the means which are furnished for their instruction; and he expresses his regret that Government has not received the co-operation of the Church of England, in carrying into effect objects so worthy of a Christian nation, and so interesting to humanity. His accusations against the Church Missionary's Society's Agents, however, do little credit to his candour. “It has happened to myself,” he says, “to have seen one missionary lying drunk in the streets;”—concealing the fact, that the delinquent was a *discarded* schoolmaster of the Society,—discarded for misconduct, and that he was made drunk as a frolic by some young men at a large dinner on his late Majesty's birth-day. The other charges are of an equally frivolous description, and prove that, in this part of his work, the Major was writing under a bias received *after* his return to this country.—See Macaulay's *Sierra Leone*, pp. 18, 24.

a large body of the most virtuous and respectable persons in this country, with a general view to the improvement and civilization of the African continent; and Sierra Leone, which appeared the best centre whence such efforts could emanate, was placed under their management. "There can be no doubt," remarks Mr. Murray, "notwithstanding the charges brought by a person who held, for some time, an office in the colony, of the zeal with which the Directors of this Institution have pursued every object tending to the improvement of the colony, as well as the general benefit of Africa. Of this, the character of its members would be a sufficient pledge; but it is further rendered evident by the statements which they have chosen to submit to the public. They very candidly, however, admit the circumstances which have obstructed the accomplishment, to the full extent, of the objects for which it was founded.\* It has been found impossible to preserve a uniform good understanding with the native powers, whose volatile and turbulent habits render them prompt to embark in hostilities. The abolition of the slave-trade, also, has caused the colony to be viewed by no means with a favourable eye by the native chiefs. The wars in which it was repeatedly involved with them, gave a very serious check to its

\* "Whatever might have been the wishes and the objects of the African Institution," says Mr. Macaulay, "they could only carry them into effect by suggestions either to his Majesty's Ministers, or to those who had the immediate management of the colony.... The very first governor sent out after the transfer of the colony to the Crown, made it his object to overturn all the previous arrangements of the Sierra Leone Company, and to pursue a perfectly opposite system. Subsequently to the year 1808, not one of the successive governors or judges received his appointment through the influence of the African Institution."—Macaulay's Vindication, pp. 4, 5.



improvement. The management, also, of the negroes captured on their route to the West Indies, is attended with considerable difficulty. The plan of making them purchase their liberty by a temporary bondage under the name of indenture, though it cannot deserve the epithets which have been applied to it, seems yet to have been very properly discontinued. The motley and equivocal character, however, which necessarily attaches to a great part of the population, renders it very difficult to preserve the degree of order and propriety necessary to render it useful in itself, and creditable in the eyes of the Africans.\* The introduction of the English forms of law has produced a most violent spirit of litigation. The suits for petty assaults and defamation are almost innumerable; and the plaintiffs are usually in the proportion of four women to one man. The distance from Britain, besides the unhealthy nature of the settlement, and the very moderate amount of the salaries, make it scarcely possible to procure respectable and duly qualified persons to fill the different official situations. Notwith-

\* The population, in 1822, exclusive of the factories and other settlements up the river, comprised the following classes :—

Europeans.....	128
Maroons.....	601
Nova Scotians .....	722
Exiles from Barbadoes, &c.....	85
Natives, who have settled in the colony, } chiefly pagan or moslem..... }	3,526
Liberated Slaves .....	7,969
Discharged negro soldiers .....	1,103
Kroomen.....	947

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15,081

The last are migratory; but the total number is generally the same.—Macaulay, pp. 16, 17. The insufficiency of the civil establishments, is a serious obstacle to the prosperity and good order of the colony.

standing all these obstacles, a sensible improvement has taken place; and more may be expected, as experience shews the best modes of conducting such a colony.\*

“The colony has been,” Mr. Macaulay remarks, “grievously injured by the want of a systematic plan or rule for its government. Every governor has been left to follow his own plans, however crude and undigested; and no two succeeding governors have ever pursued the same course. This remark applies more particularly to the management of the liberated African. Mr. Ludlam pursued the system of apprenticing them. Mr. Thompson set that aside, and turned them loose in the colony, without any other superintendence than its general police. Captain Columbine employed them on the public works, or apprenticed them. Colonel Maxwell, after delivering over to the persons appointed to receive them, all the men fit for his Majesty’s service, apprenticed a part of the remainder, and then commenced forming villages with those who could not be so disposed of. Sir Charles Mac Carthy gave up apprenticing, except in particular cases; and adopted the plan of forming them into villages, under such civil superintendence and religious instruction as he could command, keeping the youths and children in schools, or making mechanics of them; neglecting perhaps too much, in his successful attempt to make them orderly and quiet citizens, the equally desirable object of making them industrious agriculturists and growers of exportable produce. General Turner dissolved, in a great measure, the schools and the institutions for mechanics, and threw the people more on their own resources;

\* Murray, vol. ii, p. 314.

but did not afford, indeed he did not possess, the means of duly superintending their settlement and progress, or of directing their energies." \*

The present state of the colony is thus summarily described by the latter gentleman.

"It contains about 20,000 free negroes, who have been collected on that spot from various parts of the world; some from North America, some from the mountains of Jamaica, and others from the immediately adjoining nations of Africa; but the great majority of them consists of those who have been rescued from the holds of slave-vessels, and landed on its shores in the lowest state of misery, debility, and degradation. These liberated captives have attained to various degrees, according to the length of their residence and other circumstances, of moral improvement, civilization, and prosperity. They are all living under the protection of British law, which they enjoy as fully as any other class of the inhabitants, being equally subject to its penalties, and equally bound to fulfil its obligations. Nearly the whole police of the colony is administered by them; and in no part of the world is justice more freely and equitably dispensed, or its decisions more promptly and willingly obeyed. And although the nature of the population might not seem to authorise such a conclusion, yet I can confidently appeal to the calendars and police records, as a proof that, in regard to the infrequency of crime, it may bear a favourable comparison with most parts of his Majesty's dominions.

"A large portion of the colony are enjoying, and

\* Macaulay, pp. 5, 6. The death of this last-mentioned governor is spoken of as an almost irreparable blow to the colony, and to Africa generally.

all have access to, the means of moral and religious instruction. Upwards of one fourth are regular attendants on the public ordinances of religion. They have built for themselves various and expensive places of worship ; some of them are employed in ministering to the spiritual necessities of their brethren ; and a more orderly, decent, and well-conducted people, considering their circumstances, is no where to be found.

“ That agriculture has not been sufficiently attended to, and that all the industry they are capable of has not been exerted, is true ; but it is not true, that they will not work, and work diligently, for wages : nor is it true that their wants and desires are bounded by a bare subsistence, by food and clothing. They were all landed in the colony, without a single article of any description in the shape of property, almost naked as they were born. Their hands were their only capital, and many of them scarcely knew the use of these. Whatever property they now possess, their money, their shops, their vessels, their houses, their furniture, are all the fruits of their own industry. The population of the colony has been, and still is, but small ; whilst the demand for labour, both for public and for private purposes, and for the commerce of the colony, has been great. The inhabitants, as free agents, have naturally employed themselves in that way which paid them best ; and if they have, by collecting, instead of growing, the produce of Africa, enriched themselves, and increased the trade of the colony to its present extent, who can have any right to find fault with them for so doing ? The population is now, at length, growing larger than the mechanical or commercial wants of the colony can supply with labour, and the surplus



must, of course, resort to agriculture. If capitalists would invest money in cultivating the soil, the people would work for hire : if not, they will be induced, I doubt not, to cultivate it on their own account.

“ Several of the Black and Coloured colonists are persons both of property and respectability, and are admitted to the tables of the principal Europeans. Some of them have served with great credit to themselves, and benefit to the colony, the offices of Alderman, Mayor, Coroner, and Sheriff; and their mercantile transactions are of considerable magnitude. Numbers of them are possessed of excellent stone houses, well furnished. Their clothing is equal to persons of their rank in England, and their style of living is respectable. Their families are brought up in a decent, moral manner; and some, not satisfied with the means of education afforded by the colony, have sent their children to England : witness, Messrs. Gabbidon, Wilson, Wise, Williams, &c.

“ The duties of commissioners for the recovery of small debts, of grand and petty juries, of head and petty constables, and of the other offices of police, have been performed by the inhabitants generally, in a manner which has given satisfaction to every magistrate. The general respectability of their houses, of their appearance, and of their conduct, is universally allowed.

“ They have built, for their own use, several decent places of worship (some of stone;) the expenses and the ministry of which (except one Wesleyan Missionary), are provided for by themselves, and they are constant and regular attendants in them.” \*

\* “ It appears by the Parliamentary returns of 1825, that there were in the colony, twenty-four places of worship; and that, out of a population of 20,000, in which is included a large number who

“ It may be necessary to say a few words on the present state of the liberated Africans, as distinguished from the other classes of the community.

“ A considerable number of them can read, many can write, and several of them are employed as teachers and clerks. Some of them are possessed of good stone houses in Freetown, and many have very excellent houses, partly of stone and partly of wood. They are rising fast in the scale of respectability. Some have served as jurymen ; many are employed in the police of Freetown ; and all the police of their own villages is administered by them. In the villages, their houses are good and comfortable, though in few instances made of very durable materials ; and they are all, more or less, furnished. Nearly the whole live by their own industry. Many of them, undoubtedly, are satisfied with the mere necessities of life ; but the majority, especially the young, are not so : they endeavour to raise themselves in society, and to become possessed of the decencies and luxuries of life, and to amass property. The liberated Africans constitute a large proportion of the mechanics of the colony ; a great number of them are engaged in retail trade, or in commerce with the natives ; and many of them are constantly credited with hundreds of pounds, and their dealings appear fair, honourable, and profitable. A large portion of them are orderly and constant attendants on places of worship ; some of which, of stone, have been in great part, if not entirely, built by them, and at their expense ; and they are bringing up their families in a decent and Christian manner.

profess Mohammedism and Paganism, 5818 are regular attendants on Christian worship, 1340 of whom attend in Freetown.”—See also *Miss. Reg.*, May, 1826, pp. 257—259. *Ib.*, Jan., 1829, pp. 13—18.

They are, in fact, all that could have been expected, when their original condition, the short time they have been in the colony, and their opportunities, are considered."

"The influence of the colony, combined with occasional visits from his Majesty's cruisers, has nearly effected a total abolition of the slave-trade, from the Rio Nunez to the Shebar inclusive, substituting in its place a legitimate commerce; and has induced not only European and American slave-dealers, but native chiefs, to turn their slaves into a sort of *adscripti glebæ*, and to look for benefit to the fruits of their labour, instead of to the sale of their persons; a system which, from the nature of African slavery, must soon bring them into the condition of freemen. The natives of the Nunez and Pongas have, through the influence and assistance of Sierra Leone, established plantations, and begun to trade in the innocent productions of the country. Headmen from the Soosoo and other countries bring their people over to the river Sierra Leone, to work in the woods; and I have heard many of them calculate the advantages of their labour over the price of their persons.

"The altered appearance of the natives round the colony, in dress and manner, must convince every spectator of their improvement; and it is well known, that their bloody and superstitious rites and ceremonies are fast retreating from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. Well acquainted as I am with what passes in the country, I have not heard of a single instance of the ordeal of 'red water' proving fatal for many years. Of our influence with the native chiefs, instances are abundant. Yaradee, a barbarous chief, at the head of a considerable army, spared the

life of Sanassee, his enemy, at the request of the Governor of Sierra Leone, with whom he had had no previous communication. The powerful king of the Foulahs is in close connexion with the colony, and has opened the roads between it and the interior. The king of Bambarra has sent messengers to the Governor. Chiefs from Kenghary, Bouree, and Balia, have come to Sierra Leone to form commercial connexions with it. The Soombra Soosoos transferred the Isle de Los to the colony at a time when the Americans were in treaty for it. In the face of Sir Charles MacCarthy's defeat and death, the hostile tribes of the Scarcies submitted their disputes to us, and the North Bulloms ceded the territories from which the teak is chiefly procured. In their distress, the Sherbro Bulloms threw themselves upon the protection of the colony; and their enemies, the Cussos, sent messengers to sue for peace. The natives of Port Logo, when, about two years ago, their chief died, voluntarily requested to be admitted under the jurisdiction of the colony; and, so far from any unfriendly feeling existing after General Turner's death, the Soosoos and Mandingoes referred their long and bloody disputes to the decision of the colonial government, the king even offering to resign his turban, if required; and they transferred the jurisdiction of their waters, with such land as might be requisite, for the purpose of preventing any export of slaves. The king of Barra, also, after positively refusing to the governor of Senegal, in person, to rent to the French, at Albreda, as much land as would form gardens, voluntarily transferred to the colonial government, on behalf of his Majesty, the whole jurisdiction of the river Gambia, and one mile inland of its northern bank in the kingdom of Barra; and did, in person, assist at the



commencement of a British fort, on the point which commands the entrance of the river." \*

The island of St. Mary, at the mouth of the Gambia, has been chosen by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as the site of a distinct settlement, formed in 1816, which bears the name of Bathurst. The inhabitants, in 1826, were 1021 males and 846 females; chiefly Yoloofs and Mandingoes. The members amount to thirty. William Singleton, the Quaker Missionary, who visited Bathurst in 1821, gives the following account of the settlement.

"The island called St. Mary's, is an irregular-shaped sand-bank, very little elevated above the river. It is nearly level; and in digging, nothing but sand, not a stone, can be found. The houses are built of stone from the Barra coast. In its greatest length, the island is nearly four miles E. and W.; the widest part about one mile and a half. Banyan Point is in N. lat.  $13^{\circ} 20'$ ; W. long.  $17^{\circ} 34'$ . The town of Bathurst stands on the east end of the island, which is by far the narrowest part, and in the rainy season, is nearly overflowed. The colony is in its infancy. The settlers have done, and are doing much, and have in contemplation more for the general benefit. The buildings erected by Government are considerable." The station does not appear to be particularly unhealthy, but various obstacles have impeded its success.†

Mrs. Kilham, a benevolent member of the Society of Friends, who visited Sierra Leone in 1827, for the purpose of instituting inquiries as to the best means of promoting the education of the liberated Africans,

\* Macaulay, pp. 105—110; 88—90. For further details, see also Reports of African Institution.

† Rep. of Com. for promoting Afric. Instruction.—Miss. Reg. Jan. 1829.

has published specimens of thirty different African languages spoken in the Colony. Between few of these, judging from the vocabulary, there is any apparent affinity. Their names are as follow :—

1. Foulah. See p. 54 of this volume.
2. Yolof. See p. 121 of this volume.
3. Mandingo. See p. 121 of this volume.
4. Soosoo. See p. 155 of this volume.
5. Timmanee.\* { Spoken in the country eastward of Sierra Leone.
6. Kissi. { Spoken in the country round the sources of the Niger.
7. Bullom.† { Spoken along the Western Coast as far as Shebar.
8. Kossa. { The Kussoo tribes border on the Sherbro Bulloms.
9. Pessa. Seemingly allied to the Kossa.
10. Kroo. { The Kroomen live on the Grain Coast, near Cape Palmas.
11. Bassa. { This is evidently the same as the Kroo, or differs only as a dialect. It is spoken from Cape Mesurado to Cape Palmas.
12. Ashantee. } These are evidently dialects of the same language.
13. Fantee.‡
14. Appa.
15. Tapua.
16. Poh-poh. { A state on the Slave Coast. It is a dialect of the Whidah.
17. Fot. { Probably the *Afatu* of Meredith; spoken in the Agoona country, now subject to the Fantees.¶
18. Benin. Spoken in the kingdom of that name.
19. A-ku or Ey-e-o. See p. 335 of our second volume.
20. Houssa. See p. 17 of this volume.
21. Borno. { The language of Bornou. See p. 215 of our second volume.
22. Ibo. { The Ibbo nation furnish the greater part of the slaves exported from Benin.
23. Mo-ko.

\* The Timmanee, Mr. Singleton says, is next in usefulness (to leeward) after the Mandingo.

† A grammar and vocabulary of this language have been printed, as well as a translation of the gospel of Matthew into Bullom.

‡ Called also the Amina. See a copious vocabulary of this language in Hutton's Africa, pp. 371—384, and Bowdich, pp. 506—512,

¶ Meredith's Gold Coast, pp. 173, 177.

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|----------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 24. Bon-go     | Perhaps, the language of the Calbongos.   |
| 25. Run-go.    | { Perhaps that of Dar Runga in Waday. See |
|                | { p. 278 of our second volume.            |
| 26. A-kāon-ga. |                                           |
| 27. Ka-ra-pa.  |                                           |
| 28. U-ho-bo.   |                                           |
| 29. Kouri.     | Perhaps Youri.                            |
| 30. Kongo.     | Presumed to be the language of Kong.      |

Accidental circumstances have assembled at Sierra Leone, natives of several of these nations. With others, a commercial intercourse has been opened, and many individuals of the surrounding and interior countries have, of their own accord, repaired to the colony, and made it their permanent or temporary residence. Of these, the most singular race are the Kroomen, who may be styled the *Gallegos* of Western Africa. They are a robust race, natives of the maritime country called the Grain Coast, between Sanguin and Cape Palmas, who go to Sierra Leone and other places for work, hiring themselves as labourers. They are remarkably industrious, and are well known to Europeans all over the coast, and on board merchant vessels. They speak English, and are happy to be employed as labourers, sailors, or in any other capacity.\* Indeed, Mr. Hutton says, they frequently make voyages to England and back again; and have great confidence in the English. Mr. Robertson affirms, that, “to the indelible honour of these people, they have never been known to enslave each other, even for criminal offences of the most aggravated nature.” “Strongly attached to their own country and its customs,” Mr. Macaulay says,

\* Hutton's Africa, pp. 30, 34. Their country, or its capital, is called Settra Kroo. A Krooman informed William Singleton, the Quaker missionary, that the Kroomen have an hereditary king, five towns, and plenty of people—“too much.”—Eighteenth Report of African Instit. p. 203.

“ though they will migrate freely for a time, no inducement can prevail with them to remain long absent from it, or to relinquish their native superstitions.\*”

#### THE TIMMANEES.

THE Timmanee country, which borders immediately upon the territory of Sierra Leone, was traversed by Major Laing in 1822, in proceeding on a mission to the camp of the Mandingoes and Soolimas. Its extent from E. to W. may be computed, according to this Traveller, at 90 miles, and its breadth N. and S. at about 55 miles. It is bounded on the E. by Kooranko; on the W. by Sierra Leone, Bullom, and the ocean; on the N., by the Mandingo and Limba countries; and S., by Bullom and Kooranko. This territory is watered by the river Scarcies and the Rokelle branch of the Sierra Leone river. It is divided into four districts, each having its independent chief. Of the natives of this country, Major Laing gives a very unfavourable account. “ The character of a Timmanee man,” he says, “ is almost proverbial in Western Africa for knavery and indisposition to honest labour; and that of a Timmanee woman for dishonesty. They are depraved, licentious, indolent, and avaricious. Inhabiting the country near the mouth of one of the principal rivers of the coast, and which, until the last thirty years, was one of the chief marts of the slave-trade, their moral and social disorganization which still subsists, may be viewed as an example of its deep-rooted and pernicious influence.” †

\* In this respect, they seem to resemble the Mandingoes of the Portuguese coast. See page 147.

† Laing, p. 106. “ I was twice offered by mothers,” adds Major Laing, in a note, “ their children for sale, and abused for refusing them. One evening, a clamour was raised against me as



The Timmanees have no trades among them; not even the necessary ones of blacksmith and shoe-maker, which are common to almost all African countries. The only carpenter's tool of which they understand the use, is the ax; with which, however, they contrive to square wood for doors and windows tolerably well. Their houses are all of mud, with a sloping roof of thatch or palm-branches in front and rear, but they are neither commodious nor neat. Their agricultural implements are extremely rude, consisting of merely a wooden hoe and a small hooked stick used for clearing the grain from the husk.\* The produce of their country is confined to red and white rice, yams, ground-nuts, and a few plantations of cassada, with plantains, bananas, and other spontaneous productions. They are exceedingly addicted to intoxication, by indulging in copious potations of palm-wine. This Traveller could perceive no traces of a costume among those resident in their own country. "Every individual, according to his fancy or ability, clothes himself after the fashion of other tribes. Most of the head-men were habited in the Mandingo shirt and trowsers, with a cap of red or blue cloth; others wore the shirt with a pair of trowsers of satin stripe reaching to the ankle, and nearly as tight as pantaloons; some the shirt only. But such is the poverty, arising from indolence, and

being one of those white men who prevented the slave-trade, and injured the prosperity of their country. The two mothers severally accused their children of witchcraft, and were much surprised at my refusal to purchase, particularly as the price did not exceed ten bars, about 30s."

\* "I must believe," says Major Laing, "that a few hoes, flails, rakes, shovels, &c., would prove more beneficial both to their interest and ours, than the guns, cocked-hats, and mountebank coats with which they are at present supplied."

rude state of the greater proportion of the inland population, that trowsers or a shirt of any kind are articles of rare occurrence ; few possessing more than a small square piece of coarse cloth or woven bark tied round the middle. This scanty tegument was, I apprehend, the only covering used by the Timmanees, previously to their acquaintance with Europeans. The women, with the exception of those contiguous to the water-side, are as deficient in raiment as the men, and many of them more so.\*

Yet, these same people, when brought into contact with Christian civilization, seem to undergo a singular transformation of character. “ After a short intercourse with Europeans,” says Major Laing, “ they throw off their barbarous habits, and adopting the European dress, seem desirous of conforming to all the customs of civilized life which come within the reach of their pecuniary ability. Those of them who have resided for some years among Europeans, and who are in a manner weaned from the habits of their native country, (habits which, after leaving off, they invariably despise,) are particularly docile, and, in general, much attached to their employers.” “ The eagerness with which the Timmanees entered into the laborious work of cutting, squaring, and floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber exported from Sierra Leone, is a convincing proof of their readiness to engage in any employment

\* Laing, pp. 79—81. “ Kooranko is the first country to the eastward of Sierra Leone, where the manufacture of cloth is common, but it is generally of a coarse quality. As the Traveller advances eastward, he finds the natives improve both in the texture of the cloth and the size of the loom. In Sangara, very large and handsome cloths are manufactured.”

where they can get a reward, however small, for their labour." \*

In many of their customs, the Timmanees resemble the pagan nations of the Gold Coast. Before eating or drinking, they invariably devote a small portion of what they are about to consume, to the dead, by throwing it on the ground. Small houses containing shells, skulls, images, &c., are always placed about three or four hundred yards from the different entrances to the towns, which are supposed to be the residence of the *Greegrees* who take care of them. Almost every house has its protecting spirits, which are frequently invoked in a manner adapted to excite the commiseration of the enlightened spectator. White fowls, sheep, or goats are considered ominous of good luck, and are, consequently, sacrificed to appease the evil spirits, or presented to strangers who are regarded as welcome visitors.† Charnel-houses, in which the remains of the kings or headmen are deposited, are generally to be found in the Timmanee towns. These are never opened, but small apertures are left in the walls, through which cooked provisions and palm-wine are occasionally introduced, to be, as they believe, consumed by the spirits of the departed. Particular spots also, generally eminences covered with thick wood, are consecrated to the *Greegrees*, and these sacred inclosures are never approached but with reverential awe. The smallest encroachment upon them, Major Laing was

\* Laing, 77, 8. During the time that the timber trade was in activity, several native towns were formed on the banks of the river, and many natives came from a distance in the country to engage in it.

† The same notion seems to prevail among the Bijugas. See note at page 151.

informed, would subject the aggressor to the most awful punishment from the *Purrah*; a singular and mysterious tribunal much dreaded in this unhappy country, whose power is paramount even over that of the chiefs, and whose deeds of darkness are veiled from all inquiry. The rogue-craft of this fraternity strikingly illustrates the degraded state of a people among whom it could succeed.

“The head-quarters of the *Purrah*,” we are told, “are in inclosures situated in the woods: these are never deserted by them entirely, and any man, not a *purrah*, approaching them, is instantly apprehended, and rarely ever heard of again. The few who have re-appeared after several years of seclusion, have always become intermediately *purrah*-men themselves. Those who do not again appear, are supposed to be carried away to distant countries and sold. The *purrahs* do not confine themselves always to the seizure of those who approach their inclosures, but frequently carry off single travellers, and occasionally whole parties who are imprudent enough to pass from one town to another in certain districts, without applying for an escort from the body: to ensure safety, one *purrah*-man is sufficient, who, while leading the party, blows a small reed-whistle suspended from his neck. At the advice of Bar Kooro, I procured one of these persons as a guide from Ma Bung\* to Ma Yasoo,† the intermediate country being thickly inhabited by the *Purrah*. As we passed along, they signified their vicinity to us,

\* A Timmanee town, containing about 2500 inhabitants, on the Author's route from Sierra Leone.

† Ma Yasoo is the chief town on the eastern frontier, in latitude  $8^{\circ} 28'$ , longitude  $11^{\circ} 54'$ . It is situated on the right bank of the Kamaranka, there called the Kabanka.



by howling and screaming in the woods ; but, although the sounds denoted their close neighbourhood, no individual was seen.

“ The *purrahs* frequently make an irruption into towns in the night-time, and plunder whatever they can lay their hands upon ; goats, fowls, cloth, provisions, men, women, or children. On such occasions, the inhabitants remain shut up in their houses until long after the plunderers’ retreat. During the time that I was in the interior, I always had a sentry over my quarters at night, for the protection of the baggage. One night, the town in which we slept, was visited by the *purrah*, and my sentinel remained firm at his post. When the *purrah* came up, an attack was made upon him, but the application of the bayonet kept them at a distance until I made my appearance, when the *purrah*, uncertain of their power over a white man, scampered off : they were mostly naked and unarmed, but a few had knives.

“ The outward distinguishing marks of the *purrah*, are two parallel tattooed lines round the middle of the body, inclining upwards in front towards the breast, and meeting in the pit of the stomach. There are various gradations of rank among them, but I could never ascertain their respective offices. Persons said to be men of rank among them, have been pointed out to me, with great caution, as the Timmanees, generally, do not like to speak of them ; but I could learn nothing further. *Purrah*-men sometimes quit their retirement and associate with the towns-people, following employments of various kinds ; but no chief or head-man dares bring a palaver against a *purrah*-man, for fear of a retributive visit from the whole body. At stated periods, they hold conventions or assemblies ; and on these occasions, the country is in

a state of the greatest confusion and alarm. No proclamation is publicly made, but a notice from the chief or head-man of the *purrah*, communicated by signs hung up at different places, with the meaning of which they are acquainted, is a summons to them to meet, on an appointed day, at a certain rendezvous. Palavers of great weight, such as disputes between rival towns, or offences of such magnitude as to call for capital punishments, are always settled by the *purrah*; the head-men of towns not having at the present day, (whatever power they may have possessed formerly,) the lives of their subjects or dependents in keeping. The *purrah* may be therefore said to possess the general government of the country; and from the nature of their power, and the purposes to which it is applied, they will probably be found a most serious obstacle to its civilization." \*

M. Golberry gives an embellished account of the same institution as existing among the Soosoos; and in this "confederacy of warriors," he fancies that some affinity may be detected to the secret tribunal of the Germans, and the mysteries of the old Egyptian hierophants. "Between the river of Sierra Leone and Cape Monte," he says, "there are five colonies of Soosoos, who have formed among themselves a federal republic. Each colony has its particular magistrates and its local government; but they are all subjected to an institution which these negroes call *purrah*. Each of the five colonies has its particular *purrah*; and these five united, form the grand and sovereign one, which commands the five colonies.

"In order to be admitted into the confederacy of the *purrah* of the canton, it is necessary to be thirty

\* Laing, pp. 94—99.

years of age, and no person can be a member of the grand *purrah* under fifty: the eldest member of each *purrah* of a canton is selected, to form those of the grand or sovereign *purrah*. No candidate is admitted to the trials of a cantonal *purrah*, but under the responsibility of all his friends who are already members, and who swear his death, if he flinch during the ceremony, or if he betray, after being admitted, the mysteries and secrets of the confederacy. In each canton comprised in the institution of the *purrah*, there is a sacred wood to which they conduct the candidate; he is obliged to inhabit a place which is appointed for him; he finds himself during some months in a small house, where men with masks supply him with food; he dares not speak nor absent himself from the place which is assigned him; and if he attempts to penetrate the forest with which he is surrounded, he is immediately struck dead.

“After some months of preparation, the candidate is admitted to the trials, the last of which are, it is said, dreadful; all the elements are employed to ascertain his resolution and his courage. It is even asserted, that chained lions and leopards are employed in these mysteries; that while they are performing, the sacred woods resound with mournful howlings; that during the night immense fires may be seen, which seem to threaten a general conflagration; that at other times, flames spread along all the sides of these mysterious woods; that all unhallowed persons, whom curiosity might tempt to enter them, are sacrificed without mercy; and that some indiscreet people who have nevertheless ventured it, have disappeared without its being known in what manner. When the candidate has undergone all the trials, he is admitted to the initiation, having first sworn that he

will preserve all its secrets, and that he will execute, without hesitation, the orders of the *purrah* of his tribe, and all the decrees of the sovereign *purrah*. If a member of this confederacy betrays it, or becomes refractory, he is devoted to death, and this sentence is often executed in the bosom of his family. At a time when the unfortunate delinquent least expects it, a warrior appears, disguised, masked, and armed; he exclaims, 'the grand *purrah* sends thee death.' At these words, every one falls back, no one dares offer the least opposition, and the victim is sacrificed.

"The tribunal of each *purrah* of a tribe is composed of twenty-five members, and from each of these individual tribunals are drawn five persons, who form the grand *purrah*, or supreme tribunal of the general confederacy; hence, this sovereign one is composed also of twenty-five members, who elect their chief from among themselves. The particular *purrah* of a tribe takes cognizance of all crimes within its district, judges them, and executes its sentences. It also appeases the quarrels and heals the dissensions which may exist between powerful families. The sovereign *purrah* never assembles but upon extraordinary occasions; it judges those who betray the mysteries and secrets of their order, and who oppose its decrees; it also, in general, ends those wars which sometimes break out between two tribes subjected to this confederacy.

"When two tribes at war, after some months of mutual hostility, and when they have injured each other materially, are both desirous of peace, they secretly solicit the sovereign *purrah* to interfere between them and terminate their warfare. The grand *purrah* then assembles in a neutral canton; as soon as it is completely formed, it intimates to the



belligerent tribes, that they can no longer allow men who ought to live as brothers, as friends, and as good neighbours, to make war, destroy, pillage, and burn each other's lands; that it is time to put an end to these excesses; that the sovereign *purrah* will attend to the causes of this war; that it desires it shall be terminated; and in consequence, a suspension of hostilities is immediately commanded. It is a fundamental rule of this institution, that, from the moment the sovereign *purrah* is assembled to ordain a cessation of war, and till that cessation is finally pronounced, every warrior of the two belligerent tribes is prohibited from spilling a single drop of blood, and that under pain of death; hence, a suspension of hostilities is sure to be scrupulously observed.

“ The supreme tribunal remains assembled for the space of one month, during which time they make the necessary inquiries to ascertain which tribe was guilty of aggression. During the same period, they convoke such a number of the warriors of the confederacy as will be necessary to execute the sentence they may pass. Finally, every information being collected, they judge and condemn the guilty tribe to a pillage of four days. The warriors destined to execute this decree, are all taken from the neutral cantons, and depart at midnight from the place where the sovereign *purrah* was assembled. They are all disguised, having their faces covered with hideous masks, and are armed with lighted torches and daggers. Dividing into detachments of forty, fifty, and sixty persons, they arrive unexpected, before the dawn of day, in the territory which they are about to pillage, and proclaim with a dreadful voice the decree of the sovereign tribunal. At their approach, men, women, and children, and even those who bend beneath the weight of

years, flee before them, and immure themselves in their houses. Should any one be met in the fields, roads, or streets, they are either murdered, or made captives ; and in either case, they are never heard of afterwards. The produce of the pillage is divided into two parts ; the one is given to the tribe who were injured and insulted, and the other to the sovereign *purrah*, who divide it with the warriors employed in the execution of their decree ; this is the recompense for their zeal, obedience, and fidelity.

“ When any family among the tribes submitted to the *purrah* becomes too powerful or too formidable, the sovereign *purrah* generally condemns them to a sudden pillage, which is executed by night, and always by warriors disguised and masked. If the chiefs of the family considered as dangerous should resist, they are either put to death, or carried away, and led into the secret recesses of their sacred and solitary forests, where the *purrah* judges them for their rebellion, when they almost always disappear for ever.

“ Such is in part this extraordinary institution. Is is known to exist ; the effects of its power are felt ; it is dreaded ; but the obscurity which covers its intentions, its deliberations, and its resolves, is impenetrable, and a delinquent knows not he is condemned, till he falls beneath the stroke of death. The terror and the dread with which this confederacy inspires the people in the countries where it is established, and even the neighbouring ones, is beyond all conception. The negroes of the bay of Sierra Leone speak of it with fear and reserve ; they imagine all the members of this confederacy are sorcerers ; that they have an intercourse with the devil ; that they can exact whatever they choose, without its being possible

to do them any harm. The *purrah* likewise propagate these prejudices, by means of which they exercise an authority which no one dares to resist, but which, however, they seldom abuse, but make it a means to render them respected both at home and abroad.

“It is supposed that the number of warriors initiated and belonging to the *purrah*, amounts to more than six thousand; and yet the laws, the secrets, and the mysteries of this association, are scrupulously kept and maintained by these numerous confederates, who understand and know each other by certain words and signs.”\*

The Author's lively imagination has, no doubt, thrown a little colouring into this description; and the hypothesis which deduces this and other institutions of the Mandingoes from Old Egypt and Upper Ethiopia, may be ranked with many learned reveries of a similar gratuitous description, which derive plausibility from a few singular coincidences.† The leading facts, however, are sufficiently curious, and are amply confirmed by concurring testimony. The older Travellers speak of a nation called the *Sokkoes*, living somewhere to the N.W. of the Fantees, and speaking a dialect resembling that of Jallonkadoo, whose manners and laws bear some resemblance to those of the Soosoos. They are said to have, in particular, a mysterious order, called *Belli-Raaro*, similar to the *purrah* of the Soosoos.‡

\* Golberry, vol. i. pp. 80—85.

† Even at present, this Writer affirms, the Egyptian cubit, or its fractions, is the measure used by many of these nations.

‡ Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 231. The title of the king of the Sokkoks, is stated to have been *mansa*, the Mandingo word for king, or master.

## THE KOORANKOES.

KOORANKOO,\* which Major Laing subsequently "skirted," in passing to Soolimana, is an extensive territory, subdivided into numerous petty states. It is bounded on the W. by the Bullom, Limba, and Timmanee countries; N. by Limba, Tamisso, and Soolimana; E. by Kissi, the Niger, and countries yet unknown; and S. by the countries bordering on the coast.

The Koorankoes, in language and costume, Major Laing informs us, are closely assimilated to the Mandingoes; but they are by no means so handsome or so intelligent a race of people, nor are they followers of Mohammed. The greater part of the population are Pagans, whose manners bear a stronger affinity to those of the Timmanees. Like them, they have unlimited faith in *Greegrees*, and have houses consecrated to them at the entrances of the towns. The head-men are clothed in the long Mandingo gown, trowsers, cap, and sandals. The scantier clothing of the women, resembles that of the Timmanees. They are great adepts in the art of dressing hair, and ornament each other's heads with great skill. The front hair being combed back, is gathered into two large balls, one over each temple, the summits of which are decorated with a cowry or mock coral bead: from these balls, a succession of neat

"\* The kingdom of Kooranko," says Major Laing, "must extend a long distance to the eastward, as the natives of the district through which I passed, could give no definite idea of its extent in that direction; merely stating, that I could not reach the end of it in one moon, but having neither personal nor received information on which to ground the assertion; for no one that I have ever met, had ventured to travel far among their countrymen to the eastward, whom they described as savages without clothes, cruel, and barbarous."



plaits are suspended round the back of the head, to the ends of which are attached beads or cowries, and, among the dancers, hawks' bells. They file their teeth to a point, and are tattooed on the breast and back.

The Koorankoes cultivate much more ground than the Timmanees, and are in every respect a more industrious and intelligent people. Each house has its inclosed garden, in which are raised cassada,\* spinach, small onions, and *tankara*,—a herb which, when dried and beaten, serves as a cheap substitute for snuff. They are great smokers : their pipes are about five feet in length.

Dancing is a prominent feature among their amusements ; and every man of note has three or four performers on his establishment. At great festivals, the hired dancers, fancifully dressed out, parade the town during the day, and visit all the head people in succession, whom they amuse by their dexterous movements for a time, when they receive a present and depart. At sunset, the drum summons all to the dance. The musicians are in the centre, and the company dance round them at a side step, the whole facing inwards. " I have seen a dance of this kind," says Major Laing, " kept up without intermission for two days and three nights, the places of those retiring being immediately and constantly kept up."

The Koorankoes bury their dead the day after

\* " More pains is taken by them in the rearing of cassada," says Major Laing, " than by any people I have met with ; and it is quite usual, in speaking of Kooranko, to couple it with cassada, as, *Kooranko nye bartara*, Kooranko and cassada. This custom of designation is common in North-western Africa ; and most countries are named in conjunction with some articles for which they are celebrated ; as, *Foutah nye cosson*, Foutah and milk ; *Soolima nye figga*, Soolima and ground-nuts ; *Timannee nye korokolo*, Timmannee and rice ; *Fooroto nye nafola*, white man and money."—Laing, p. 204.

demise; and the night of the funeral is spent in dancing, the exhibitors brandishing in both hands hatchets or spears. If the deceased was a person of consequence, musicians and mourners are hired; sheep and oxen are killed; and the feasting and crying are kept up for several days. They have no external worship, but, in their common conversation, frequent references occur to the will and power of the Deity.\* The laws are few and inartificial. Murder is the only crime punishable with death, and that may be commuted, if the murderer has property enough to make the required compensation to the friends of the slain.

The staple article of trade is cam-wood, which is sent down the Rokelle and the Kamaranka, to be exchanged for various articles, chiefly salt. A considerable advantage is also derived from the extensive manufacture of cloth. The loom in which this is made, is very narrow. The weaver sits under an open shed, from the roof of which are suspended two frames of equal breadth with the roof, nicely divided with perpendicular strings: these are made, by a motion of the feet, to cross one another alternately; and the shuttle is, at each motion, cast through. In this manner they will work with much dexterity, and, if not obliged to stop for want of thread, will complete five yards in a day; but a woman can only spin as much thread in a week as will make a fathom of cloth. The sewing and weaving are performed by the men.†

\* Such phrases as "Thank God for it," "I will if it pleases God," "May God bless you for it," "This is not man's work, but the work of God," which Major Laing ascribes to these negroes, must, obviously, have been borrowed from the Moslem tribes.

† Laing, pp. 194, 210.

A chain of hills, sixty miles in length, runs through the whole of Kooranko, in a N. E. direction. These are for the most part clothed, at their base, with the camwood-tree above referred to. The range is composed of very micaceous granite and mica-slate, with veins of quartz, and laterite, so strongly impregnated with iron, that, in some places, Major Laing found the needle drawn and repelled at the distance of several inches. The iron is extracted by the natives, by means of earthen furnaces. Major Laing describes the scenery as occasionally very beautiful. On leaving Nyiniah (or Konkofeel), one of the largest and best built towns in Kooranko, his route led up one of the hills to the eastward; and on descending the other side, a most delightful prospect presented itself. "An extensive valley, partly cultivated, and partly covered with long natural grass about five feet high,—the cultivated part newly sown; lines of stately palm-trees, as regular as if laid out by art; with here and there a cluster of camwood-trees, their deep shade affording a relief to the lighter hue of the smaller herbage; these, with a murmuring rivulet meandering through the centre, exhibited the appearance of a well cultivated and tastily-arranged garden, rather than a tract amid the wilds of Africa; while, in the distance, mountain towered above mountain in all the grandeur and magnificence of nature. After passing along the valley from W. to E., we again commenced ascending, and continued to do so in a south-easterly direction for about two hours; when we arrived at an extensive plain covered with short, thin grass. Traversing this plain in a course nearly N. E., we crossed two rapid rivulets running from the S. E., tributaries to the Rokelle. About a mile from Nyiniah, we fell in with the source of a fine stream which joins the

**Kamaranka.\*** The spring forms a basin ten yards in diameter, embanked with masses of granite, and overhung with lofty trees, clad with a foliage so thick as to bid defiance to the piercing rays of even a vertical sun.....We finally halted for the day at a neat town called Neta Koota, which is sheltered by mountains from the N. and E. A few miles N. by E. from Neta Koota, we crossed the Ba Jafana, which running to the N. W., unites with the Rokelle after a course of fifteen or twenty miles. The bed is about fifteen yards in breadth, though only about three miles from its source, and is filled with granitic and quartzose pebbles, with abundance of laterite and other stones of a ferruginous quality. It springs from a mountain named Balakonko, situated in the S.E., where the natives procure the cam-wood in great quantities. The banks of the river are also lined with this wood, which grows to the height of 60 feet." †

Our Traveller had thus crossed the ridge which separates the head-streams of the Kamaranka, flowing southward, from those which reach the Rokelle. In the next day's route, about an hour and a half from Neta Koota, he crossed the Tongolelle, a noisy and rapid stream about thirty yards broad, dashing with violence over rocks of granite and beds of quartz gravel: it runs to the N. W., and joins the Rokelle. The scenery now became more confined, but more bold and rugged, the route lying up the valley of this stream in a direction E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and at length it led to its source. "It takes its rise in a sort of basin surrounded with thick brushwood, and gives birth to a rich and luxuriant growth of wild canes in its centre, affording a

\* All the rivulets running S. through these mountains, collect behind the lofty hill of Botato, and fall into the Kamaranka.

† Laing, pp. 161, 165,



cool retreat to the leopards which infest this part of the country. To such an extent are they dreaded, that the natives will not travel the paths, unless in parties and well armed. Indeed, so furious and rapacious are they, or, at all events, in so much terror are they held, that not a single village is to be met with in the whole path, an extent of five and twenty miles; and I observed," adds our Traveller, "the sites of several towns, now in ruin; the inhabitants of which had been forced to move to the westward, to avoid their attacks."\*

After leaving this source, the route ascended a lofty eminence; called *Sa Wollé*, the summit of which, according to barometrical measurement, is 1900 feet above the level of the sea. From this elevation, Major Laing enjoyed one of the grandest and most extensive views he had ever beheld. A capacious circle, of nearly two degrees in diameter, interrupted only by a hill to the eastward, which rose considerably higher, presented a landscape of the most rich and varied scenery. Three lofty hills, which bore N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., marked the situation of Ba Fodis, the most eastern town of the *Limba* country. A little to the eastward of them, the hills of *Tamisso* were barely discernible. But the most gratifying object was "the lovely *Rokelle*, rolling its serpentine course across the landscape from N. E. to S. W."†

\* Laing, p. 174. "The rivulets which discharge themselves into the *Rokelle*, are picturesquely beautiful, dashing over rugged granitic rocks, several hundred feet in elevation."—Laing, p. 435.

† Laing, p. 180. The route subsequently crossed many rivulets, one falling into the *Rokelle*, and another running eastward along the bottom of the hill on which the town of *Kamato* stands, and discharging itself into an extensive swamp, which becomes dry in summer. This marsh was stated to increase every year; and

The source of this river, which Major Laing subsequently visited, is in the Soolima country, not far from the ruined town of Berria, to the east of Falaba, the present capital. It is well known to the natives under the name of *Sale Kungo* (the Rokelle Head); *Sale* being the native name of this river.\* It issues from the foot of a hill, where, "springing from under a large rock, and shaded by a thick foliage of date-trees, it bubbles up, and scatters itself over a wide surface of red clay; in appearance like a stream formed by the bursting of a water-pipe in the streets. About a hundred yards or more below the source, the water collects into a channel of about a foot in breadth, and runs off rapidly to the S. S. E.; which course it continues for some miles, and then, making a circuitous sweep, shapes its course to the S. W. between Setacolia and Tigiataba, by which time, having received considerable tributary assistance, it assumes a respectable appearance, and is barely fordable. Were it not," adds Major Laing, "for the gratification I derived from having traced to its very source, the river so important to the colony of Sierra Leone, and of which little had been previously known beyond the town of Rokon, I should have enjoyed little satisfaction from any corresponding association in the circumjacent scenery, there being nothing either picturesque or agreeable in the view. We were surrounded with a

"I think it not improbable," adds Major Laing, "that, in time, it may become a lake, which, by overflowing its embankments to the southward, may ultimately unite with the Kamaranka."

\* "It is the only river in Africa, with which I am acquainted," says this Traveller, "which bears one name from the source to the sea." Yet, this name has hitherto been unknown to geography; and no writer who has described the coast, seems to have been aware of the proper appellation of the river. *Kung* is the Mandingo for head; in Soosoo, *Kunji*.

dismal, melancholy, cold-looking wood, the only cleared spot in which had been made by ourselves, except the occasional tracks of the bulky elephants, many of which, as well as those of the buffalo, had been crossed during our walk, and who continually apprised us of their vicinity by their noise.”\*

The source of the Rokelle, which, according to this Traveller's map, is in latitude  $9^{\circ} 45'$  N., longitude  $9^{\circ} 55'$  W., was ascertained to be, by barometrical measurement, 1470 feet above the Atlantic. On ascending the eminence from the base of which it issues, the hill of Loma, which contains the source of the Niger, was seen at the distance of about twenty-five miles S. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. It is the highest ground in the neighbourhood, “and seemed, as it raised its crest in dark and swarthy greatness, to frown on the surrounding country.” The very point from which the “great river” issues, was shewn to our Traveller; and one good day's march, had the state of the country been favourable, would have enabled him to reach the spot; but circumstances rendered it impracticable.† There is a lofty sugar-loaf hill, called *Konko-doogore* (hill-country; *Mandingo*), about four miles S. of Falaba, and the highest in the Soolima country, from which Major Laing had previously seen Mount Loma bearing S. E.; while towards the N. E. were pointed out to him the hills containing the sources of the river Mungo, “better known by the name of the Small Scarcies, but improperly, being a more considerable river than the Great Scarcies.” The three hills amid which it rises, commence a chain running to the westward, and separating Tamisso

\* Laing, pp. 320, 321.

† See page 87 of the present volume,

and Jallonkadoo from Foutah Jallon : thence, passing through the Soosoo country, it extends to the coast.

### THE SOOLIMAS.

SOOLIMANA, the proper country of the Soolimas, into whose territory our Traveller had now penetrated, is a tract of country extending from near Falaba (in latitude  $9^{\circ} 49'$ , longitude  $10^{\circ} 25' W.$ ) to the left bank of the Joliba, and about sixty miles in breadth from N. to S. The country, however, which the Soolimas occupy, is a strip of land in the Kooranko country, bounded on the S. by the Rokelle, on the N. by Foutah Jallon,\* on the W. by Limba and Tamisso, and on the E. by Kooranko and Soolimana. The latter, their native territory, Major Laing says, "since the wars with Foutah Jallon, is merely used as farming ground, and resided upon temporarily. The face of the Soolima country is picturesque in the extreme, being diversified with hills, extensive vales, and fertile meadows, belted with strips of wood, and decorated with clumps of trees of the densest foliage. The geological features, like those of all countries in Western Africa, are of no particular interest : the hills are of primitive formation, composed of a whitish granite, being principally mica and feldspar, with occasional strata of red and blue mica slate imbedded on the granite. The valleys consist of a rich vegetable and mineral soil, mixed with the sand annually washed down

\* Teembo, the capital of Foutah Jallon, (see pp. 55—67.) is only three short days' journey N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from Falaba, and is placed by Major Laing in latitude  $10^{\circ} 25' N.$  Foutah Jallon is, according to this Traveller, part of Jallon-kadoo, i. e. Sonakie-country or Toper's-land. "*Jallon* signifies strong liquor; *Jallonka*, a man who drinks strong liquor; *Jallonkadoo*, the country of the people who drink strong liquor."—Laing, p. 402.



by the torrents. The soil is remarkable for its fertility." The chief produce is rice, yams, which are planted as potatoes are in England, and ground-nuts, which are cultivated like our field-peas. Bananas, pines, and oranges are the principal fruits; but the first only are found in any degree of perfection. The Soolimas have numerous herds and flocks, and a diminutive kind of poultry. The elephant, the buffalo, a species of antelope, monkeys, leopards, and wolves are the wild animals.

The principal Soolima towns are all situated in the Kooranko country: these are, Falaba, the capital, Sangonia,\* Semba,† Mousaiah, and Konko-doogore;‡ containing in all about 25,000 souls. Falaba derives its name from the river Fala, on which it stands. It was built in 1768, by the Soolima king, as a strong place of protection against his enemies, the Foolahs. It is nearly a mile and a half in length by a mile in breadth, and closely built, compared with the generality of African towns. It contains upwards of 6000 inhabitants, when all are assembled; but this seldom happens, except on festivals, as a great part are generally absent on warlike excursions or at the neighbouring farms. The site is well chosen as a place of defence, being on a gently rising eminence in the centre of a large plain. The ground in the immediate

\* A "very large town" on the borders of Footah Jallon, ten miles from Falaba, which, in 1800, withstood a siege by an army of 10,000 Foolahs headed by Almammy Abdoolkhader in person. The besiegers were repulsed with considerable loss. It is surrounded with a strong and lofty clay wall, perforated with loopholes for musketry.—Laing, p. 263.

† Semba is a "large, populous, and rich town near the southern frontier, situated on a very lofty eminence, 1490 feet above the level of the sea."—Laing, p. 220.

‡ A stage from Semba in the hills,

vicinity is converted into a swamp by the rains. The town is surrounded with a strong stockade of hard wood, with seven well-protected entrances, and a ditch 20 feet deep and as many broad, which renders it quite impregnable according to the system of African warfare. The town is of an oblong form, containing about 4000 circular clay huts, with pyramidal roofs of thatch: these are extremely neat and clean; in many instances, Major Laing says, "even elegant." The *palaver*, or court-house, stands in an open space, towards the southern extremity of the town, and is a place of recreation as well as of business. In the centre of the town, a large piece of ground is left vacant for the purposes of exercise, of receiving strangers, and of holding great palavers. Here, on such occasions, the root of an old tree serves the monarch for a throne, its branches forming a natural canopy. The reigning king and some of the elders were Moslem, while the younger part were pagans: and the consequence of this divided state of opinion was, that there were neither mosques nor fetish-houses in the town, except at the southern gate, near which the Soolima field-marshal had been permitted to erect a small clay hut, dedicated to his protecting *greegree*. The majority even of the Kaffirs, however, hold in contempt the grosser superstitions of the neighbouring nations; and they would probably, Major Laing says, have adopted the religion of their king, had it not been also that of their inveterate enemies, the Foolahs, from whom it is their ambition to be as different as possible. This was not always the case; since, up to the year 1760, the Foolahs and Soolimas were in close alliance, and carried on their slaving wars together.\* Mutual jealousies then arose,

\* The Kissi and Limba people were the chief victims of these

which were soon exasperated into the bitterest animosity. Teembo was completely destroyed by the Soolimas; and every Foolah found in their territory, was massacred. Until the year 1776, the two nations were engaged in constant warfare with various success; but in 1778, a grand victory obtained by the Foolahs, decided their superiority for a time in the open field. They are now apparently tired of fighting each other; and the Soolimas had of late years confined their incursions to the territories of their neighbours, the Kourankoes and Limbas, for the avowed purpose of procuring slaves.\*

The Soolimas are, in person, short and muscular, and well adapted to endure fatigue and privation. Their military weapons are, the spear, the musket, the sling, and the bow: the first, they carry more for ornament than use, as they rarely come to close quarters; the second is more for noise than for mortal effect; but, in the use and management of the latter two, they are most expert. Where their predatory habits do not interfere, they appear mild and inoffensive in disposition. In their domestic occupations, the men and women seem to have changed places. With the exception of sowing and reaping, the cares of husbandry devolve on the women, while the men attend to the dairy. The former are the masons, plasterers, barbers, and surgeons; the latter employ themselves in sewing, and not unfrequently in washing clothes.

inroads; and the captives were sold to the Mandingoes and Soos for European goods.

\* The good king expressed himself willing to abandon this nefarious system, if the *Tilligiggo* men (people from the west) would take something else than slaves for their goods or money; but he dwelt on the strong temptation to continue the trade in slaves, while white men could be found to purchase them, and money could be got for them so easily and certainly.—Laing, pp. 381—3.

The dress of both sexes is similar in make to that of the Mandingoes, but they will wear no cloth that has not been dyed black with ditch water and iron ore, or yellow with the bark of the *neta*-tree. Prior to their rupture with the Foolahs, they dressed as Mohammedans; but since that occurrence, it has been the fashion to appear as different from them as possible. The women, as a distinction from those of Foota Jallon, wear their gold ear-ring in the left ear only, or sometimes two or three in that ear. In other respects, they dress as in Kooranko, the cloth being a little larger. When young, they are sometimes "exceedingly beautiful;" but owing, in great measure, to the hard labour they undergo, they become at an early age disgustingly ugly. Like all other African females, Major Laing says, they are immoral; but their demeanour was, in general, at once kind and decorous; and they appeared pleased at being treated with respect. They conceal their faces when they either eat or drink in the presence of men.

Murder is the only crime punishable among the Soolimas with death, and their mode of trial bears a rude resemblance to trial by jury. Fines, stripes, and slavery are the penalties incurred by other crimes. The marriage ceremonies are much the same as those of the Timmanees: the bride is purchased of the parents, and the King has his tithe on the sum. The dead are followed to the grave, and committed to the ground in perfect silence; but a day is fixed within a month after the interment, to "make custom for the deceased." The numbers invited to the entertainment are proportioned to the rank of the family; and the day is spent in merriment of the most extravagant nature. The Soolimas are passionately fond of music: their principal instruments are the *kora*, a sort of



guitar, a flute with only three notes, the *ballafoe*, and other drums of different sizes. Unlike the Maudingoes, who are described by Park as being excellent surgeons, but bad physicians, the Soolimas possess many herbs of strong medicinal qualities, with the nature and uses of which they are well acquainted; but their attempts at surgery, beyond the operations of bleeding and cupping, are wretched in the extreme.\*

Major Laing was struck with the resemblance of some of the Soolima customs to those of ancient Rome. These, he was induced to note down from time to time in his memorandum-book; and he gives them in the succession in which they occurred to him, premising, that he does not mean to imply that the resemblance is other than accidental.

“The elders are always consulted by the King on matters of moment, and are addressed by him as ‘fathers’.

“The palaver-house, like the Roman forum, is in the open air; and all persons are entitled to the privilege of hearing the debates.

“A Soolima general is called *kelle-mansa*, or war master; and, in returning from war with his army, is not permitted to enter the gates of the town till he has sent to ask, and has received permission. On his entry, he loses the title and office of *kelle-mansa*, and is addressed by his own proper name.

“In the palavers of the Soolimas, an orator may harangue an assembly from sunrise to sunset, without the smallest opposition from those who differ from

\* Laing, pp. 355—371. The Author’s life was apparently saved by one of the country doctors, who cupped him during a state of insensibility and delirium. “They first scarify the skin with a sharp razor, and then apply a small calabash gourd, from which the air has been expelled by fire.”

him in opinion ; and his antagonist will, from memory, reply to every part of his speech, the next day, as regularly as if he had kept notes. When opposite sentiments are delivered, the Soolimas signify their concurrence by gestures, and frequently by exclamations ; as of assent—‘ True, good, he speaks the truth’ ; or of dissent or disapprobation, by the very expressive word, ‘ *Fane, fane*’—a lie, a lie. But if any man takes up the time of the meeting idly, or in discussing matters foreign to the purpose, the king interferes ; on which occasion, his usual exclamation is, ‘ *Atto, atto* ’—have done, have done. The Soolima orators have a set form, both in commencing and in concluding their speeches. Every palaver is written out and registered by the Foolahs, and is committed to memory and sung by the jelle-men in Soolima.

“ All men are addressed in public as boys, till the beard has assumed the hoary whiteness of age.

“ Surnames, derived from particular circumstances or occasions, are common. Two daughters have the same name, with the addition of an equivalent to major and minor.

“ Men become slaves by being taken in war, by sale, by way of punishment, or by being born so. A Soolima contracting a debt which he is unable to pay, and being cited before the king, becomes the slave of his creditor. A Soolima cannot marry his slave without the consent of the king ; and on the night of marriage, she becomes free.

“ Fathers are maintained by their sons. Ground where a body is buried, becomes *greegree* or sacred.—The reader acquainted with the early history of Rome, will have no difficulty in recollecting the parallel customs.”\*

\* Laing, pp. 361–365.

This Traveller gives us no information respecting the dialect spoken by the Soolimas,\* but it is evident from many of the words which are given, that it is either the Mandingo or a dialect of that language. We may therefore conclude, that the Soolimas are, in fact, notwithstanding a few peculiar characteristics, a tribe of that widely extended and interesting race, to whom we have had so frequent occasion to refer. Before we take a final leave of this part of Western Africa, we must gather up the scattered notices furnished by this Traveller and other authorities, relating to the customs and manners of this people.

#### THE MANDINGOES.

It has already been stated, that the original country of the Mandingoes, from which they appear to take their name, is an elevated region about 700 miles eastward from the coast; forming, in fact, part of the region indefinitely called Jallonkadoo. It was traversed by Mr. Park in his first journey, in his homeward route from Sego to Pisanía; and to him we are chiefly indebted for our imperfect knowledge of the country. It was at Taffara, a town situated near the mouth of the Frina, a small stream that falls into the Niger, that Mr. Park first noticed a change "from the corrupted dialect of Bambarra to the pure Mandingo." From this place, he pursued a route along the north-western side of the river, passing several large towns, which derive their importance from the trade in salt, till he reached Bammakoo. About half a day to the westward of this place, he was told, the

\* On one occasion, the king spoke to an attendant "in *Jal-lunka*," supposing the Author's interpreter did not understand him; but what that language is, we are not told.

route crossed the Joliba at a ferry, but there were no canoes large enough to receive his horse. He was therefore advised to take a route, the only alternative, which led over the hills to Sibidooloo, "the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding," situated in a fertile valley surrounded with rocky hills.\* During the frequent wars between the Bambarrans, Foolahs, and Mandingoes, this town had never been plundered by an enemy. From this place to Kamalia, the country appears to be well peopled, and the district of Jerijang is described as particularly beautiful and well cultivated. Every town has its *mansa*, and the Mohammedan religion generally prevails. At Kamalia, where the bushreens and kaffirs live in distinct towns, Mr. Park was treated with the most generous hospitality on the part of a bushreen; and he remained there from the middle of September to the following April, when he joined a *kofla* who were proceeding to the Gambia. Worumbang, two stages from Kamalia, is the frontier village of Manding towards Jallonkadoo. The road then enters the woods of "the great Jallonka wilderness;" but, to save a day's provisions, they diverged from the direct route to the town of Kinytakooro, situated in a large and well cultivated plain watered by the Kokoro, one of the principal head-streams of the Senegal. After leaving this place, they travelled for five days through a country totally uninhabited, in some parts wild and rocky, yet, in others, beautifully undulating, wooded, and abounding with partridges, guinea-fowl, and deer. In this part of the route, no fewer than three

\* From the summit of one of these hills, some distant mountains appeared towards the S.E., which Mr. Park recognised as having seen from near Marraboo, where he was informed that they are situated in a large and powerful kingdom called Kong.



large rivers were crossed, (the Wonda, the Co-meissang, and the Boki,) all flowing to the Senegal, besides several rivulets.\* It might seem, at first, difficult to account for the abandoned state of these "gloomy wilds." Mr. Park remarks, that he found many extensive and beautiful districts entirely destitute of inhabitants; and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled or entirely deserted. The ruins of two towns burned by the Foolahs, which were passed soon after entering the wilderness, indicated too plainly the real cause of the apparent depopulation: it is the slaving wars carried on to supply the markets on the coast, that have driven the kaffir tribes into the mountains, and converted large portions of fertile territory into a wilderness.†

\* Mr. Park was told by his hospitable host at Kamalia, that it is impossible to cross the Jallonka wilderness during the rainy months, as no fewer than eight rapid rivers lie in the way, which are not then fordable. The *Kokoro* derives its name, which means dangerous, from its rapidity and its abounding with crocodiles. When Mr. Park crossed it, it was only a small stream, "such as would turn a mill," and swarming with fish; but, from the grass and brushwood left by the stream, it had evidently risen more than 20 feet during the rainy season. Two smaller branches of this river were subsequently crossed, which are probably included in the "eight rivers." The principal branch of the Senegal was crossed at a bridge of bamboos.

† "One great motive of the Africans in making slaves," says Captain Beaver, "indeed I may say the only one, is to procure European goods: slaves are the money, the circulating medium with which great African commerce is carried on: they have no other. If, therefore, we could substitute another more certain and more abundant, the great object in trading in slaves would be done away."—Afr. Mem., p. 395. "The most dreadful thing is," remarks M. Malte Brun, "that the African princes, in order to get possession of a hundred men, often sacrifice a thousand; for, when these despots do not find individuals whom they can condemn to be sold, they regularly hunt down the inhabitants of an entire

The language spoken all over that extensive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo, has, in many words, an obvious affinity to the Mandingo, although the natives, Mr. Park says, consider theirs as a distinct language. Their numerals approach in sound to those of the Soosoos, who are evidently a Mandingo tribe; and the difference is not greater than might be expected to arise from a variation of dialect.\* The Soosoo, however, seems to be a mixed or mongrel language, which has received a considerable portion of Foolah. In like manner, the Mandingo has been corrupted, in Bambarra, into a distinct dialect. But there can be little doubt that this language, which is spoken from the Atlantic to the Niger, may be regarded as the connecting link between the indigenous tribes scattered over the whole of the elevated regions containing the sources of the great rivers of Senegambia and Nigritia.

The physical characteristics of the Mandingoes have already been described, as well as several of their customs.† To these, a few particulars remain to be added. Circumcision is practised alike by bushreens and kaffirs, but is not performed till the children have reached the age of puberty. A number of young persons undergo the rite at the same time; they are then formed into a class or society, called *Solimana*, and for two months afterwards enjoy singular privileges,

village, like a flock of deer. Some make an armed resistance; others flee to the woods, to the dens of lions and panthers. Several tracts of country have been successively depopulated by these atrocities."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 278, 9.

\* As given by Park, the first five numerals are, *kidding, fidding, sarra, nani, soolo*. In Soosoo, these are called *kering, fering, saka, nani, sooli*. In Mandingo, *kiling, fula, sabi, nani, lulu*. See Kilham's Specimens.

† See pp. 64, 121—127, of this volume.

being during that time exempted from every sort of labour : they spend their holiday in visiting the neighbouring towns and villages, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants.\*

The children of the Mandingoes undergo, however, a rite of a different kind in infancy. "A child is named," says Mr. Park, "when it is seven or eight days old.† The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish called *dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or goat is commonly added. The feast is called *Ding-koon-lee*, 'the child's head-shaving.' During my stay at Kamalia, I was present at four different feasts of this kind; and the ceremony was the same in each, whether the child belonged to a bushreen or a kaffir. The schoolmaster who officiated as priest on these occasions, and who is necessarily a bushreen, first said a long prayer over the *dega*, during which every person present took hold of the brim of the calabash with his right hand. After this, the school-master took the child in his arms, and said a second prayer, in which he repeatedly solicited the blessing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whispered a few sentences in the child's ear, and spat three times in its face;

\* Park, vol. i. p. 259.—The meaning of the word *Solimana* is not given, but it is probably the origin of the national name of the Soolimas. Golberry gives an account of a similar practice as prevailing among the Bambookians. These classes consist of both sexes, but, while allowed great liberty, they are under vigilant superintendence. The only parties Mr. Park saw, were, however, all young men.

† "The children are not always named after their relations, but frequently in consequence of some remarkable occurrence. Other names are descriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, a good man; *Fadibba*, father of the town, &c."

after which he pronounced its name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This part of the ceremony being ended, the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he distributed to every person present. An inquiry was then made, whether any person in the town was dangerously sick ; it being usual in such cases to send the party a large portion of the *dega*, which is thought to possess medical virtues.\*

“ Among the Negroes, every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong*, or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of these families are very numerous and powerful. It is impossible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country ; though the knowledge of many of them is of great service to the Traveller ; for, as every Negro plumes himself upon the importance or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*.” †

Maternal affection is every where conspicuously manifest among the Mandingoes ; and the greatest affront that could be offered to a native, is to reflect on her who gave him birth. The women suckle their children till they are able to walk ; and “ three years’ nursing is not uncommon.” One of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth.‡ The Mandingoes allow to

\* “ Soon after (this) baptism, the children are marked in different parts of the skin, in a manner resembling the tattooing in the South Sea Islands.”

† Park, vol. i. pp. 262, 3.

‡ A mother whose son had been mortally wounded by a shot from a Moor, while quite frantic with grief, was heard venting her feelings by reiterating, *Ee maffo fomo abada*—‘ he never told a lie, no never.’ This was her consolation.—Park, vol. i. p. 99.



their wives considerable liberty ; and this indulgence, Mr. Park says, is seldom abused. They are, however, little better than slaves, being obtained by purchase of their parents. The value of two slaves is a common price for a wife, unless she is thought very handsome. When there are several wives, (as is usually the case,) each is mistress or superintendent of the household in rotation. In case of ill treatment from the husband, the wife has an appeal to the chief of the town, and the affair is brought to a public trial. But, if the cause go against the complainant, "the magic rod of Mumbo Jumbo soon puts an end to the business." This singular custom requires a particular description.

"This strange minister of justice," says Mr. Park, "who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some one instructed by him, disguised in a sort of masquerade habit made of the bark of trees, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming, whenever his services are required, by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night : as soon as it is dark, he enters the town, and proceeds to the *Bentang* (place of assembly), at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble. It may easily be supposed, that this exhibition is not much relished by the women ; for, as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself ; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned. The ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's

rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion against their unhappy sister. Day-light puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel.\*

“When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral, which generally takes place on the evening of the same day on which the party died. The Negroes have no appropriate burial-places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased’s hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body

\* Park, vol. i. p. 38. Golberry gives an account of the same institution under the name of Mamma Jamboh, vol. i. p. 85. Moore mentions it with some additional particulars. After describing the dress as a long coat made of the bark of trees, with a tuft of fine straw on the top of it, he adds: “This is a thing invented by the men to keep their wives in awe, who are so ignorant, or, at least, are obliged to pretend to be so, as to take it for a wild man.” “The sound, indeed, is said to be so dismal, that only the most positive assurance to the contrary, could make any one suspect that it issued from a human voice. Whenever any dissension takes place within the domestic circle, this umpire is speedily called in, and pronounces and executes sentence almost invariably against the weaker party. During the day, the coat is hung on a long pole, in order to be ready whenever its services are required. Youths are initiated into this society at the age of sixteen, but bound by the most dreadful oaths never to divulge its arcana to any female. It seems that, about the year 1727, the wife of the king of Jagra, being endowed with more than the usual curiosity of her sex, wrested from her husband this fatal secret. The fact having transpired, a council of the men was immediately held, to consider in what manner it would henceforth be possible to keep their wives in subjection. A signal example was judged indispensable; and the fact being proved, both the king and queen were put to death, as a warning to all who should ever again seek or allow others to pry into so awful a mystery.”—Murray, vol. i. pp. 208, 9.

is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave, in the dusk of the evening, by the relations. If the grave is without the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body; but I never observed," adds Mr. Park, "that any stone was placed over the grave as a monument or memorial."\* M. Golberry, however, asserts, that at Albreda, on the Gambia, the sepulchres of the Mandingoes are all collected together in an inclosure, planted with trees; that he had known these tombs to be visited by the relatives, and by affectionate children, who would ornament with flowers these "monuments;" and that he had seen a young girl place a vessel full of milk on the tomb of her mother, as an offering.† These Mandingoes of Barra, however, are described as being all zealous Moslems. They are characterised, moreover, as very active, sensible, and cunning in commercial affairs; yet, in their general character, hospitable, benevolent, and sociable; and their women are very lively and amiable‡. Mr. Park speaks of their general character in similar terms, which have already been cited. And the testimony of Major Laing may be adduced to complete our description.

"The Mandingoes," says this Traveller, "are a very shrewd people, and superior to any who inhabit the extent of Western Africa, from the boundaries of Morocco to the southward. They are not of ancient residence on the water side, having emigrated not more than a century since from Manding. . . . . The first emigrants settled in the countries surrounding the Gambia, but detached parties found their way

\* Park, vol. i. p. 271.

† Golberry, vol. ii. p. 261.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 122. See also p. 64 of this volume.

subsequently, both to the northward and southward ; for they are of an unsettled, migratory disposition, and are to be found traversing Africa, for the purposes of trade or war, from Tangiers to the American settlement at Cape Mesurado.

“ The costume of the Mandingoes is extremely plain, simple, neat, and becoming ; consisting of a cap, shirt, trowsers, and sandals. The cap is composed of blue or red cloth, is conical, and neatly worked with different-coloured threads. The shirt, which hangs loosely over the trowsers, is truly simple in its construction, being formed of about a fathom or more of blue or white baft, doubled, with a small hole cut in the top, to admit the head ; the sides are sewed up about half way, leaving sufficient room for the play of the arms. Trowsers, of the same materials, reach merely to the knee ; they are made very wide, and gathered round the loins with a strong piece of tape. The width of the trowsers is a great mark of distinction among the Mandingoes : hence, the common expression among them, *Koorté Abooniato* (large trowsers), which is synonymous with great man. To such an extent, indeed, do they carry this fashion, that I have known a head-man with a whole piece of baft, being about twenty yards, made into one pair. The females wear a *pang*-cloth of baft, about a yard in width round the waist, impending as far as the calf of the leg, and a shawl or some fancy cloth suspended from the head, and covering the neck and shoulders, if they are not at work : with this cloth they also conceal their faces, if required to eat or drink in the presence of a man.

“ There are four trades or professions, to which conjointly is given the appellation of *Nyimahalah* ; they rank in the order in which they are enumerated,



and consist of the *fino*, or orator ; the *jellé*, or minstrel ; the *guarangé*, or shoemaker ; and the *noomo*, or blacksmith ; all of whom are high in the scale of society, and are possessed of great privileges.\* They travel throughout the country unmolested, even in war ; and strangers, if of the sable hue, are always safe under their protection. The *guarangé* and *noomo* earn their livelihood by the exercise of their respective trades ; the *fino*, by his oratory and subtlety as a lawyer ; and the *jellé*, by singing the mighty deeds and qualifications of rich men, who, in his opinion, have no faults. Like the minstrels of old, they are always at hand, to laud with hyperbolical praise the landlord of a feast, or the head-man of a town. The distinctions of rank, although kept up among the Mandingoes more than among the generality of African tribes, are, nevertheless, few. The priests and teachers of the Koran are held in estimation next to the king or ruler of a country. The respect which they shew to learning, is a trait in their character much to be admired. The next in order to the priests and teachers, are the subordinate chiefs and head-men. Then follow the *Nyimahalaks* (no matter from what country) ; after them, dependent freemen ; and, lastly, slaves,—divided into domestic, or those born in the country, who are not liable to be sold contrary to their inclinations, and those taken in war, or enslaved on

\* See pp. 122—4 of this volume. According to this representation, the trades which form degraded castes among the Yoloofs, and even the Foulahs, are, among the Mandingoes, honourable callings ; so different is the genius of a commercial or trading people, like the latter nation, from that of a pastoral and warlike tribe, among whom the useful arts are generally contemned, and a species of feudalism is almost uniformly found to prevail.

account of debt, or by way of punishment. This division resembles that of the ancient Romans.

“A destitute old man is unknown among the Mandingoes. A son considers it as his first duty to look after and provide for his aged father's comfort; and if he is unfortunate enough to have lost his own, he perhaps looks for some aged sire, who, being without children, requires the care and attention of youth. There is no nation with which I am acquainted, where age is treated with so much respect and deference.

“The appearance of the Mandingo is engaging; their features are regular and open; their persons well formed and comely, averaging a height rather above the common..... A Mandingo, unless he is a *Nyimahalah*, seldom walks abroad without his gun; and every man carries with him a cutlass or knife, suspended to his right thigh, which instrument serves for many purposes, viz., to cut his way through the wood; to chop his cassada; to defend himself against an enemy; and to assist in cutting up a bullock at a feast: this last operation he performs in a skilful manner, for there are few Mandingoes who are not excellent butchers..... Their education, in general, consists in learning to read and write a few passages from the Koran, and to recite a few prayers. During their education, a period of three or four years, they are under the care of, and perform menial offices for the priest or *maraboo* who instructs them, and to whom the parents pay occasional instalments in the shape of presents, until a certain sum is made up; nor can the youth be taken from the hands of his master, till the education-money is made good. The hours of instruction are generally after sunset; when, seated round a blazing fire, the children read aloud

their task, which is written with a pen or reed upon an oblong white painted board.\*

“ The religion is Mohammedan, but they are not rigid in its observances.† They repeat a short prayer and make a rotatory motion with the fore-finger, on first beholding a new-moon, the appearance of which they calculate with precision, reckoning her age from the time of her becoming visible. They draw many omens from her phases ; beyond which, and the wearing of *greegrees* or *safies* (small prayers written by *maraboos*, and cased in stained leather), as antidotes to evil, their superstition does not appear to extend. They commence and terminate all their palavers with prayer, the whole assemblage responding to the final sentences, *Amena* (Amen), in a manner truly decorous and impressive.” ‡

It has been remarked, that, from the nature of the climate, the civilizers of Africa must be Africans ; and in the Mandingoes we seem to have a people remarkably adapted both to receive and to diffuse a higher degree of civilization than their Mohammedan teachers have been qualified to impart. In their *maraboos* and schoolmasters, we have an order of men who might be converted into most efficient instruments of dispensing a purer faith ; and Christian *maraboos* would, as the Moslem have done, make almost as many converts as they can find scholars. A schoolmaster in Africa seems to be as highly honoured as a physician in the East.

Labi, in Foutah Jallon, appears to be at present

\* See p. 52 of this volume, and p. 119 of vol. ii.

† Like other African Moslems, they pray five times a-day ; viz. at sun-rise (*sungofoo*), at 2 P.M. (*soolufana*), at 4 P.M. (*lahansarra*), at sun-set (*sungomané*), and at 8 P.M.

‡ Lalng, pp. 124—137.

the chief focus of Mohammedan civilization in these countries, and may be styled the Fez of Western Africa.\* A missionary stationed there, in the capacity of a schoolmaster, who should unite an acquaintance with the Koranic Arabic to a knowledge of the Mandingo and Foulah languages, would have a most extended field of usefulness; and though it might not be expedient to undertake versions of the entire Bible in the vernacular dialects, spelling-books and tracts might be most useful, as well as Arabic Psalters and New Testaments. Instead of educating scholars, it has been suggested, it would be desirable to educate schoolmasters. The English language is making its way, and the spread of that language insures the eventual spread of the religion of the Bible; but nothing would tend more directly to promote its diffusion, than the cultivation of the unwritten dialects.†

\* See p. 68. The great Maraboot, Salem Gherladoo, of Labi, Major Laing says, is well reputed through the three Foutahs for having brought up some of the best book-men in the country; amongst whom were Abdul Khader, the almany of Foutah Jallon, and Assana Yeera, the reigning sovereign of the Soolimas. The latter had also learned a good many English words of a Mandingo who had been a short time at Sierra Leone, which he wrote in the Arabic character, and referred to as occasion required. He called a snake *soonake*; a horse, *hause*; a stocking, *setokin*; an elephant, *alfa*.—Laing, pp. 375, 6.

† The immediate object of the "Committee for promoting African Instruction," instituted by the Society of Friends, was to cultivate some of the unwritten languages of Africa, and to "supply to the school-children, through the medium of their own languages, a little introduction to the knowledge of English." See Kilham's Specimens. We know not how the undertaking has been followed up; but it must be regretted, that the Mandingo has not received that particular attention which its extensive prevalence demands. A few Arabic Psalters and Testaments have been sent out by the British and Foreign Bible Society to Sierra Leone, but nothing has hitherto been done for the interior countries.



## WINDWARD COAST.

WE must now hasten to complete our topographical sketch of the countries of Guinea. At Cape Mount, (which takes its name from some very high land seen at a great distance off at sea,) begins what is usually called the Windward Coast. This is divided into three parts: the Grain Coast, which terminates at Cape Palmas; the Ivory Coast, extending from that point to the mouth of the Lagos; and the Coast of Adoo, terminating at the mouth of the Assinee. The Gold Coast commences about twenty leagues westward of Cape Apollonia, and terminates at Accra or the river Volta. Then comes the Slave Coast; to which succeeds that of Whidah, Benin, and Waree; then that of Calabar, and that of the river Gabon. All these countries together form Guinea in its strictest acceptation\*.

The kingdom of Cape Mount extends 160 miles from W. to E., and about 100 miles inland. Its capital, Coosea, situated about 60 miles up the country, is said to contain nearly 15,000 inhabitants. There are several rivers on this part of the coast, navigable for small vessels a considerable way up. Camwood, ivory, rice, and palm-oil, are the chief articles of export.†

## LIBERIA.

ON this part of the coast, an American colony has recently been formed, composed of Africo-Americans and liberated Africans, to which has been given the name of Liberia. Monrovia, the colonial town, is situated half a mile from the mouth of the Mesurado

\* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 230.

† Hutton, p. 32.

(Mont-Serado), and already contains a coloured population of about 1000 persons. The children, amounting to about 230, are instructed in six schools upon the British system, united under a common superintendent. A strong fort, a court-house, several places of worship, and a public library, have been erected. Four factories have been formed on the coast, between which and the town a constant communication and traffic are kept up by schooners belonging to the colony.\* The district of country which comes more especially within the influence of the colony, extends from the River Gallinas, about 100 miles N. W. of Monrovia, as far eastward as the Kroo country. Of the natives inhabiting this part of the coast, the following information has been furnished by Mr. Ashmun, the late agent of the American Colonization Society at Liberia.

The first fifty miles of coast from Monrovia towards the N. W., extending to Cape Mount, is occupied by the Dey tribe, numbering between 6000 and 7000 persons. They are described as habitually indolent and pacific, but treacherous, and, when their passions are excited, cruel. Their villages extend not more than fifteen miles inland.

The coast between Cape Mount and the Gallinas, belongs to the Fy or Vey tribe, whose settlements extend thirty miles inland, and who are supposed to amount to upwards of 12,000 souls. Until recently,

\* "Four new decked schooners have been already built and fitted for sea, and have actually gone abroad under the flag of the colony; three more of the same description, all new, will follow in a very few weeks; and these are exclusive of three more decked schooners, and a variety of open coasting craft before in use. Most of these vessels have been wholly built at Monrovia, of country materials, except iron, copper, pitch, and cordage."—Report of 1827. See *Mis. Reg.*, 1828, p. 450.

the slave-trade has furnished their chief occupation. Yet, their character exhibits the improving effects of the Mohammedan religion propagated among them by Mandingo teachers. The progress of that religion in this district has been, within the last twenty years, rapid and extensive. The Fy country limits its progress towards the S. E., few or none of the Dey tribe, and none to the leeward, having received this faith or its teachers. More intelligent than their neighbours to the leeward, the Fyes are also more reserved, proud, conceited, and selfish, as well as more systematically fraudulent. But their superiority is evinced in the general style of their buildings and furniture, the quality of their food, their mode of dress, and the acuteness they discover in their commercial transactions.\*

The tract of coast which stretches 180 miles S. E. of the colony, is occupied by subdivisions of the Bassa tribe. Their territory does not extend more than 20 miles from the sea, but their population is estimated at 125,000 ; giving a greater number of inhabitants to the square mile, than any equal portion of the coast in Western Africa. In cattle, rice, palm-oil, and other produce, its fertility is unrivalled, and an immense surplus is annually exported. The people are domestic, temperate, and industrious, many even laborious ; and they are very desirous of being furnished with the means of improvement. The inhabitants of these countries occupy villages of from 40 to 2000 inhabitants.† Every village has its head.

\* These Fyes, or Veys, will probably be found to be in fact a Mandingo colony.

† The districts taken in their order, are as follow:—15 miles from Cape Mesurado, Mamba ; thence 20 miles, Junk ; thence 15 miles, Little Bassa ; Grand Bassa, 20 miles ; Young Sesters (or

Polygamy and domestic slavery are universal ; and the women perform most of the servile labour.

Between the settlements on the coast and the villages of the interior, there is, in most places, a forest, of from half a day's journey to two days in extent, left, by mutual consent, as a barrier, and which is seldom passed, except by wandering traders.

Within about fifty leagues of the coast, however, it has been ascertained, that there is a tract of country well-cultivated and populous, where the horse is a common domestic animal, and where the Arabic is reported to be used as a written language in the common concerns of life. Two of the nearest considerable nations to the N.E. of Monrovia, the Gurrahs and the Kondoes,\* have expressed their anxiety to avail themselves of a direct correspondence with the colony ; and a road has been opened for about 120 miles towards the N.W., by which as many bullocks can be procured as are ordered.

Such is represented to be the flourishing state of this Americo-African settlement. Its trade has increased with a rapidity almost unexampled ; while its moral and religious character has exerted a powerful influence upon its social and civil condition. The Sabbath is universally respected, and all classes regularly attend Divine worship. Besides the agents of

Sesthos), along the river of that name, 12 miles ; Trade Town, 15 miles ; Little Colo, 12 miles ; Grand Colo, 18 miles ; after which come Teembo, Mana, Rock Sesters, Sinon, Little Botton, Grand Botton, Settra Kroo, and Kroo Settra. The colony has a factory at Young Sesters.—Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 235. In this enumeration, no notice is taken of Sanguin, mentioned by Hutton as the next kingdom to the eastward of Cape Mount, and which occurs, in the maps, next to Teembo.

\* Evidently the Quoya and Hondo of the old travellers.—See Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 231.



the Colonization Society, two Baptist Missionaries, Africo-Americans, have opened a school, thirty-five miles inland from Cape Mount, and sixty-five or seventy from Mont-serado, for the instruction of the children of the Vey nation, under the immediate patronage of the native chiefs. The American Episcopal Missionary Society have stationed at Liberia an ordained missionary, a man of colour; and the German Missionary Society have recently sent out five missionaries, whose intention, it is understood, is to penetrate into the interior.\* The cautionary and not less beneficent policy to which it is intended systematically to adhere, is that of "sending forward establishments into the bosom of the surrounding tribes, and appending to each of these establishments, a school for the education of their children, previously to their comprehension within the limits of the colony."

The views of the American Society would seem to be sufficiently comprehensive and aspiring. They are already beginning to anticipate the colonizing of the whole south-western coast of the African continent, and thus laying the foundation of an Americo-African empire.

About one hundred miles from Settra Croo is Cape Palmas, which has been long ago pointed out as a most eligible situation for a colony; the harbour formed by the reef off this cape, being the only sheltered one of consequence on this part of the coast, Tacoradee excepted.† To this, the Americans are

\* Miss. Reg., 1827, pp. 359—361. *Ib.* 1828, pp. 233—235; 450—454. *Ib.* 1829, p. 19.

† Hutton, p. 35. Robertson, in his Notes on Africa, describes the harbour as spacious and well secured, and in a most commanding situation.

now turning their views. "By possessing Cape Palmas," say the Society, "we should hold the commercial key of all the south coast of Africa, and the countries immediately in the interior, down as far east as the Bight of Biafra; and a colony there would, in a few years, become a great depôt for all the articles of foreign produce and manufacture which would be required by inhabitants of the nations eastward of the settlement. This will be the effect of a physical cause, which is certain and unchanging in its operations: the trade winds, pursuing the general outline of the African coast, render a return northward from the east of Cape Palmas, along the coast, extremely difficult at all seasons of the year; and more particularly so in the rainy season, when the difficulty of taking observations, and the numerous and varying currents, prevent vessels from knowing their exact situation, and expose them to the constant danger of shipwreck. From Cape Palmas, or any point to the northward, it is comparatively easy to return to Cape Verde, and so home at all times; but Cape Palmas once passed, the danger and difficulty commence, and a disastrous shipwreck, or a shattered and ruined vessel, is too often the consequence of a return voyage, from a point eastward of it. Were a settlement made at Cape Palmas, it would, like Monrovia, soon become the resort of the surrounding nations; and merchants would prefer leaving their goods at such a market, to running the risks of proceeding further eastward, even with the hopes of enhanced profits. Paths would first be made; highways would take their place; until the uncivilized nations of the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, passing by the feeble settlements of Cape Coast and Elmina, would resort to meet civilization at the nearest point of safe approach, the Americo-African

city at Cape Palmas. A great and prosperous trade would be the consequence ; and the facilities of gain would soon fill the new settlement with industrious inhabitants. Besides the commercial advantages of Cape Palmas, its road and anchorage are said to be the best between Mesurado and the Volta ; and the surrounding country is fertile, intersected with numerous small streams, fit for the erection of mills. Being the southern extremity of the south-west coast, it will form also a natural boundary to that empire which we all hope will one day arise in Africa.”\*

At the other extremity of this line of coast is the island of Bulama, on which it is also projected to establish a colony. “Once firmly fixed on the waters of the Rio Grande,” say our projectors, “we may deem ourselves in possession of the Senegal and the Gambia ; and from the Senegal to Cape Palmas, will then be our own.” Sierra Leone, it is somewhat too confidently anticipated, will be eventually abandoned by the British ; and if not, it “must become a part of the Americo-African nation.” The puny and sickly colonies which the jealousy of any European nation may establish in Africa, will never be able, it is argued, to compete with or stand before the healthy and vigorous population that will be transplanted from the western hemisphere. “The White man must become tired of filling the vacancy which death makes among his fellows ; and the deed of colonizing Africa will fall, where heaven has appointed it to fall, on the free coloured people of America.”†

\* Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 452.

† It is deserving of remark, that Mr. Douglas, in his “Hints on Missions” (1822), after observing that the civilizers of Africa must be Africans, adds—“And America is the country where the civilization of Africa ought to commence.”

That Sierra Leone, if abandoned by the British, will be occupied by the Americans, there can be no doubt; and it is, perhaps, not less certain, that, in order to be retained with advantage, there must be a more systematic adoption of the American policy. The flag of England will, we trust, long wave on these coasts; but there can be no occasion for much waste of European life in future, in supplying the colony with teachers or superintendents. These must be furnished by the native population. And what is to hinder the Anglo-African colony from keeping pace, in the race of improvement, with Liberia itself?

There is, indeed, a line of coast to the eastward of Cape Palmas, which may be advantageously abandoned to the Liberians, as soon as they shall be able to take charge of it. Here, it may truly be said, the flags of Portugal, France, Holland, Denmark, and Great Britain herself, "wave, if they wave at all, over a few tottering ruins, the mouldering tombstones of the soldiers who landed and settled beneath these banners, and who found their graves ready yawning to receive them in the first moments of their arrival." Yet, on this coast, settlements of civilized Africans would flourish.

#### GOLD COAST.

ABOUT 140 miles to the E. of Cape Palmas, is Cape Lahoo, near which is the mouth of a river that may be entered by large craft during the rains; and a considerable trade in gold and ivory is carried on at that place by merchant vessels. Twenty-seven leagues E. of Cape Lahoo is the mouth of the Assinee, which is generally considered as the commencement of the Gold Coast. There was formerly a considerable gold-trade



there also, but it is now very circumscribed, owing to the wars of the natives. About twenty-five miles to the eastward is Apollonia, (near the cape of that name,) where the African Company had formerly a small fort, which has been wisely abandoned as a useless establishment. The country is described as pleasant and fertile, but the landing bad. There are no creeks or harbours, and the surf is most violent. The native chief is subject to the sovereign of Ashantee. The trade is in gold and ivory. About five miles to the eastward is the river Ancobra, which has twelve feet water at its mouth, and is navigable for a considerable distance by small vessels. About two miles to the east, upon a promontory forming the most western part of Cape Three Points, is a compact fort, called by the Portuguese, who built it, Fort St. Anthony. It now belongs to the Dutch. The name of the territory is Axim. It forms part of the rich, extensive, and fertile country of Ahanta. The landing is good, and the country well cultivated. Between Axim and Dixcove, there were two other settlements belonging to the Dutch, but they are now abandoned. At Dixcove, to the eastward of Cape Three Points, is an English fort, superior to the generality of our outposts on this coast. Small craft can anchor in the cove, under the guns of the fort, situated on the summit of a hill, at the foot of which stands the native town, containing about 1200 inhabitants, who are said to worship the crocodile. Four miles to the eastward is Boutry, or Boutrou, where the Dutch had a fort, which is now abandoned. Ten miles further is Tacorary, or Tacoradee, where the Dutch had formerly another settlement, which, as well as their next settlement at Succondee, is now abandoned. Off Tacorary are some dangerous reefs, which form, however,

a safe harbour; and there is a sheltered harbour under the fort at Succondee, where merchandise can be shipped or landed in safety, which cannot be done at either Cape Coast, Annamaboe, or Accra. Yet, both the English and the Dutch forts at this place are now abandoned. This is the case also with another Dutch fort, called St. Sebastian, at the mouth of the Chamah, or Boosempira, a large river navigable a long way up by small craft; as well as with the English and Dutch forts at Commenda, ten miles further, where there is a native town of about 2500 inhabitants, part of whom trade in gold, ivory, and canoes, and the other part carry on a fishery. Between these two castes, the traders and the fishermen, there are frequent quarrels and fights.

The next station to the eastward is Elmina, the head-quarters of the Dutch settlements. The castle is the most respectable fortress on the Gold Coast, and is protected by a ditch.\* There is also a small fort, called St. Jago, built on a hill that commands both the town and the castle. Besides a harbour for small vessels, there are piers and wharfs for landing goods; and the town, which may contain about 8000 inhabitants, is built with stone, and paved. The country also is better cultivated than at any other part of this coast. There is a fine cotton-plantation, and the gardens contain most of the tropical fruits and vegetables of all sorts. Elmina is the easternmost maritime town in the kingdom of Warsaw (a state tributary to Ashantee), as Chama is the most western; Succondee being at the eastern extremity of Ashanta.

\* This was one of the three forts, (the two others being at Arguin, on the N.W. coast, and at St. Paul's, on the coast of Angola,) by virtue of which the Portuguese discoverers laid claim to the sovereignty of Guinea.

The castle of St. George Del Mina, from which it takes its present name, was, like most of the forts on this coast, built by the Portuguese, who settled here in 1481, and likewise built a town and a church. The Dutch made an easy conquest of this place in 1637; and, to strengthen themselves, built the smaller fort, which they named Fort Conraadsburg, or St. Jago. A respectable English force was repulsed here in 1781. Elmina and the other Portuguese settlements on this coast, were ceded to the Dutch West India Company by the crown of Portugal, in 1641; in virtue of which cession they laid claim to all the lands and countries from Cape Palmas to Cape Lopez; a claim they have long been compelled to relinquish.

A small river which runs into the sea about a mile to the eastward of Elmina, is the western boundary of Fantee, which extends nearly as far as Accra. Seven miles to the eastward is Cape Coast Castle, the head-quarters of the British settlements on the Gold Coast and that of Whidah. This strange name is a corruption of *Cabo Corso*, the appellation given to the place by the Portuguese. The territory is called by the natives Fêtu (or Afeetu). During the existence of the slave-trade, the countries from Cape Coast to Accra formed the grand emporium of that traffic on the Gold Coast; and the character of the inhabitants of Cape Coast Town is described by Mr. Meredith as marked by every vice. The castle is built in a triangular form, on a rock close to the sea, with the town behind it. The only supply of water is obtained from tanks; and the want of a river or capacious pond near the town, is a serious disadvantage, not only to the garrison and the natives, but to the vessels which resort thither. There is a small lake about a mile to the westward, but it is salt. The

country in the immediate vicinity, has been partially cleared of the impenetrable thickets, which not a little aggravated the extreme insalubrity of the climate ; but altogether, it is a most execrable place.\*

About four miles from Cape Coast, at a place called Mooree, is Fort Nassau, which was taken from the Dutch in 1781, but abandoned. Two leagues further is Annamaboe, where formerly stood the largest and most populous town on the coast. This place and Cormantine (only three miles distant) were the great slave-markets ; and it was not uncommon to see from twenty to thirty sail of shipping, of different nations, trading here in human beings. The town is in ruins, but there is a fort here, “undoubtedly the most compact and regularly built” in this part. At Cormantine is Fort Amsterdam, the first fort erected by the English on the Gold Coast : it was taken by the Dutch under Admiral De Ruyter, in 1662. Tantumquerry, another small fort, is about six leagues from Cormantine. Near this place, the flat and sandy coast changes to a bold and rocky shore. Eight or nine miles further, the Dutch had a small fort at a place called Apang, now in ruins ; and about eight miles from Apang is Winnebah (or Simpah), formerly the most populous town in the Agoona country ;† there is here a small British fort. Three leagues from Winnebah is the Dutch fort of Berracoe, near the town of Senniah ; and about nine leagues further is

\* The horse, Mr. Hutton says, cannot be kept alive at Cape Coast, whether poisoned by the herbage or by the bad water, or killed by the climate. The thermometer, in the hottest months, stands at from 85° to 90°.

† Extending about 20 miles from E. to W., between longitude 0° 10' and 30' W., and latitude 5° and 5° 30'. The kings of Agoona are extinct ; the natives speak the Afætu ; and the territory is under the power of the Fantees.—Meredith, p. 173.



Accra, where the English, the Dutch, and the Danes have settlements. This is deemed the most healthy station, and altogether the most agreeable place on the coast, and demands a brief description.

The town of Accra is situated in latitude  $5^{\circ} 31'$  N., longitude  $0^{\circ} 10'$  W. Its white buildings, backed by clumps of wood, and high land beyond, give it a very picturesque appearance. The English and Dutch towns almost join each other. The Dutch fort, called Crevecœur (built by the Portuguese), was nearly destroyed in the American war, by the force that failed against Elmina. Fort James is of respectable strength, and commands the landing-place. Prior to the abolition of the slave-trade, a very considerable trade was carried on here by many nations; and Accra is the only country on the Gold Coast that has a free trade with the interior, being much resorted to by the Ashantees. The Accras were formerly an independent nation, but were at length subdued by their inland neighbours, the Aquamboes. Their language, which is understood as far as the Rio Volta, resembles the Afeetu; and they are supposed to be allied to the Popoes. They practise circumcision (performed on boys of about the age of ten or twelve), and inoculation for the small-pox. Their character is vicious and degraded, although less so than that of the Fantees; and they are much under the influence of their fetish men, who are habited in white. The Accra territory extends about twenty-six miles in length, by from twelve to twenty in breadth. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is a fine, fertile, open plain, abounding with deer and other game.

At the distance of less than three miles from Fort James, is Christiansborg Castle, the head-quarters of his Danish Majesty's settlements on this coast, near a

town called Ursu. This fortress was built by the Portuguese, but was enlarged and strengthened by the Danes. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Swedes, who were expelled (in 1657) by the Danes; in 1679, it was treacherously sold to the Portuguese, but was restored by Portugal in 1683; it was captured by the Aquamboes ten years afterwards, but was regained, by purchase, in the following year. There is a neat chapel here; and when the service was in a prosperous state, a school was established for the education of children of both sexes.\* There are three other forts belonging to the crown of Denmark; one called Fredericksborg, at Ningo, about thirty-five miles E. from Christiansborg Castle, and two on the left bank of the Volta. The Accra country terminates at Temma, a small town where the Dutch had a fort; they had another small fortification beyond, at Pony, where the Adampe territory begins; and there was an English fort called Vernon's Fort, at Prampram, six or seven miles West of Ningo. Eastward of the latter place† there is no town, not even shelter for a traveller, till we reach the Volta, a

\* "Indeed," remarks Mr. Meredith, "both Danes and Dutch have shewn a greater desire to instruct and improve the minds of the natives, than the English." (p. 200.)

† About twelve or sixteen miles N. from Ningo, is a remarkable insulated hill, with sides almost perpendicular, known by the name of *Crabbo* or *Crobo* Hill, being inhabited by a tribe of that name, who make this hill their fortress. Their chief is said to be able to muster 2500 fighting men. The rock is clothed with fine timber, and has some sources of sweet water near the summit. About twelve miles N. of Pony is a similar hill, not so high or so fertile, but having a copious supply of water: it is called *Shcye*. The inhabitants make earthenware of the clay found there. A third hill, about twenty-six miles N. N. E. from Ningo, called *Naio*, may be seen at a considerable distance from sea, where, in clear weather, it seems capped with snow. It is the highest land in this part. The Volta flows at its base.

distance of thirty-six miles. At Adda, a town on the left bank, six miles from its mouth, is the Danish fort of Kongenstein. Here the Adampe territory terminates.

The Rio Volta is a river of some magnitude, very broad at its entrance, but of little use for the purpose of navigation. The Portuguese gave it that name on account of its rapidity and the tremendous breakers at its mouth. During the rains, no small craft can enter, on account of the impetuosity of the current; but, in the dry season, it may be navigated by canoes nearly as far as Aquamboe, about a hundred miles from the sea, where rocks and cataracts render further progress impracticable. The tide flows as far as Malfy, forty miles from the mouth. The Volta is supposed to have its source in Ashantee, and flowing from N. W. to S. E., it separates the countries of Aquapim and Aquamboe. Its banks are lined with the finest timber, and its annual inundations, besides enriching the soil, leave, on receding, extensive salt-lakes, which are sources of wealth to the natives. The hippopotamus is frequently seen in this river, and on its banks.\*

We have now reached the extremity of the Gold Coast. The Slave Coast, in its strictest acceptation, comprises the states of Coto, Popo, Whidah, and Ardra, which are subject to the king of Dahomey. The maritime plain is broader here than on the Gold Coast, and is extremely fertile. At Whidah (or Yudah), the French had formerly a trading settlement; and at Porto Novo, the next station on the coast, the Portuguese have a factory. Next to this comes Badagry, at the mouth of the Lagos, the point

\* For the preceding sketch of the Gold Coast, we are indebted chiefly to Meredith's "Account of the Gold Coast;" and Hutton's "Voyage to Africa,"

from which Captain Clapperton started on his last mission, where the Portuguese have five factories still engaged in the slave-trade. A little to the eastward, the river Akinga, which joins the Lagos, separates Yarriba from the kingdom of Benin. The great river of Benin, called by the Portuguese the Rio Formosa, falls into the head of the Bight of Benin, in about long.  $5^{\circ}$ , lat.  $5^{\circ} 45'$ . The coast now trends to the south-east, to form Cape Formosa, which separates the flat, marshy countries of the kingdom of Waree (or Warry) from the Calabar country. The river Bey or New Calabar admits vessels of 300 tons; and the island of Bonny, near its mouth, was formerly a great slave-market. The Old Calabar or Bongo river, and the Rio del Rey, discharge their waters very near each other, and are probably arms of the same river. Indeed, the whole of this part of the coast seems to consist of a sort of delta; and it has been supposed, that even the Formosa and the Rio del Rey are connected.\* A ridge of very high mountains separates this basin from the Cameroons river, or Jamoor,

\* “The Rio del Rey,” says Mr. Hutton, “is eight miles broad at its mouth, and is very likely to prove an arm of the Niger, although Mr. M<sup>rs</sup> Queen draws a different conclusion from the cataracts and rapids which he states this river to be full of.”—Hutton, p. 395. Bosman was told, that it was easy, with a canoe, to pass out of the Rio Formosa into the rivers Lagos, Del Rey, Camarones, and even the Rio Volta. The Formosa is for several miles up, like the Lagos, extremely unhealthy, with low, marshy banks and floating islands. Ships may ascend to a place called Arebo, situate above 60 miles from the mouth, “sailing by hundreds of branches of this river, besides creeks, some of which are very wide.”—Bosman in Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 519. If German miles are meant, this will be 210 English miles. In Malte Brun, however, Agatton, a village higher up, is stated to be not above 40 miles N.E. from the sea. The whole country of Benin is said to be an alluvial plain. There are no stones in the country.—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 237.



which falls into the Bight of Biafra opposite the Island of Fernando Po. These mountains consist, apparently, of three groupes, called the Qua mountains, the Rumby mountains, and the Cameroons mountains. Their peaks, which are believed to be volcanic, attain an elevation of upwards of 13,000 feet. The Cameroons river, which forms a good harbour, is inhabited by the Biafras. The river of San Benito, inhabited by the Calbongoes, is 110 miles to the south of it. From the shore, a double range of very high mountains is seen at a distance of from 30 to 40 miles inland. About 40 miles south of the mouth of the San Benito, is Cape St. John, which forms, with Cape Clara, a bay, containing the island of Corisco: this bay has not been explored. To the south of the latter point, is the river Gaboon, which waters the Pongo country, and falls into the Gulf of Biafra, in long.  $8^{\circ} 50'$  W., within  $30'$  of the Equator. It is navigable for large vessels, and contains several creeks, which are the lurking places of the slave-traders. About 25 miles up the river, lie two small islands, called Konig, or King's Island, and Parrot Island. Cape Lopez Gonsalvo, in about lat.  $1^{\circ}$  S., forms the southern boundary of the Gulf of Biafra; and divides the countries generally comprehended under the vague name of Guinea, from Congo or the Angola Coast.\*

\* "The coast of Western Africa, included between Cape Lopez de Gonsalvo and Cape Negro, is, in commerce, known under the general name of the Coast of Angola. It is the Western Ethiopia of several French and Italian authors; part of the Lower Ethiopia of the Portuguese; while the best geographers of the present day name it Lower Guinea or Southern Guinea. It would nevertheless appear more natural to give to this region the name of Congo, a kingdom under the government of which it has for some time been included, and the language of which appears to be the parent of all the idioms that are spoken."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 289.

On that "most beautiful, fertile, and magnificent of islands, Fernando Po," (so it has been styled by what some regard as high authority,) an establishment has recently been formed, which aspires to supersede Sierra Leone altogether as a naval station. This island derives its name from a navigator in the service of Alphonso V. of Portugal, named Fernao do Po, who discovered it in 1472, and called it Formosa, or Beautiful Island. It is eight leagues long, by about three in width, and is represented to be very high land, being frequently covered with clouds, well wooded, and extremely fertile.\* Portugal, after having previously abandoned it, ceded it, in 1778, to Spain; but the Spanish settlers have nearly all perished. An attempt was made by a Mr. Robertson, in 1819, to colonize this island; but, owing to untoward circumstances, the design miscarried. As commanding all the rivers which flow into the Gulf of Guinea, the station is important in a commercial point of view; and being placed in the very focus of the piratical slave-trade still carried on, it affords peculiar facilities for watching and checking that infamous traffic. It is reported to be even healthy; but time must shew how far the sanguine calculations that have been formed respecting the salubrity, fertility, and commercial value of this new colony rest upon a solid foundation. This island, together with Prince's Island, St. Thomas's, and Annabona or Bonanno Island, which lie to the S.S.W. of Fernando Po, in the Gulf of Guinea, are all, apparently, a continuation of the lofty volcanic range of the Cameroons or Qua mountains. They are in-

\* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 462. Quart. Rev., No. lxxvii. p. 181.

habited by a mixed population of mulattoes, free negroes, and slaves.\*

The interior countries lying between the maritime states bordering on the Gulf of Guinea and Soudan, have hitherto been very partially explored; and a very concise account of them is all that our limits will admit of. The perpetual changes in the boundaries and denominations of the African states, and the variety of names applied to the same territory, render it a most perplexing task to reduce to any consistent shape the scattered information which we possess. It appears, however, that the greater part of the region lying immediately behind the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea is now comprised in the powerful kingdoms of Ashantee and Dahomey. To this region, bounded westward by the river Tando (or Assinee) and eastward by the Lagos, the natives are said to give the name of Ghunja. To the west of the river Tando, the country is called Sarem; under which appellation are comprised the kingdoms of Ghaman, Banna, Takima, Soko, Ghofan, Enkasi, and Kong. This groupe of territories occupies the region south-east of the Mandingo country, having on the west or north-west, a mountainous district called Ganowa, (probably a continuation of Kooranko,) and bounded on the east by Dagomba and Ghunja. Ghaman was formerly a powerful kingdom, having for its capital Bontokoo or Buntakoo, eight days' journey N.W. from Coomassy. The Buntakoos are men-

\* A road is stated to be in progress, in the new colony of Fernando Po, which is to lead to the summit of a mountain 10,000 feet high, and every where clothed with vegetation. A small lake occupies the summit of a high mountain, (probably a crater,) in the middle of Prince's Island; and the northern part of St. Thomas's is composed of high mountains, whose peaks are always enveloped in clouds.

tioned by Mr. Hutton and others as as a large and powerful nation bordering on the Ashantees, to whom they are now said to be tributary. In their country are the richest gold-mines in this part of Africa. The ore, as in Bambook, is dug principally out of large pits, and the chief mines are near Brikanti and Kontosoo. Soko is properly a province of Gaman; but the Sokkoes appear to be a distinct people from the Buntakoos. Nomassa, the capital, is said to contain about 1000 Moslems. Enkasy and Ghofan are Moslem states, formerly tributary to the Sultan of Kong, who acknowledges the supremacy of the sovereign of Melli. Ghofan is mountainous towards the N.W.; but on the S.E., there are deserts of coarse white sand, producing only a few stunted bushes, yet abounding with pools, probably salt. This desert tract is said to extend four journeys N. and S.

Dagomba, which lies to the north of Ghunja or Ashantee, has for its metropolis, Yandy in the Simmer district, on the northern confines of the great forest or wilderness of Tonouma. This town, which is a great thoroughfare, is reckoned twenty-one days N.N.E. from Coomassy, the capital of Ashantee; thirteen journeys from Abomey, the capital of Dahomey; fifteen journeys from Whidah; and twenty-eight journeys from Benin. Five days N.E. from Yandy, is the great wilderness of Ghoomati (frequented by the elephant hunters), which divides Dagomba from the kingdom of Zogho, a district of Killinga. Under the latter name are comprised the countries lying between Houssa, Dagomba, and Yarriba. The Joliba flows through the heart of this territory, the population of which is reckoned to exceed in density that of any other district of equal surface. The kingdom of Bargho, the Borgoo of



Clapperton, is a part of Killinga; and Zogho appears to be the district connecting Borgoo with Dahomey.\*

Such appear to be the grand territorial divisions of these regions, so far as native information can be depended upon. Of their geographical structure, it would be idle to attempt any account. We now know, indeed, that a range of primitive mountains runs behind Ashantee from the N.W., a continuation, apparently, of the Kong Mountains, and stretches in a south-easterly direction into Benin, where it probably joins the Qua Mountains. Ashantee, from the latitude of  $7^{\circ} 30'$  N. to the coast, is described by Mr. Dupuis as "a solid rampart of vegetation," extending E. and W. from Aquapim to Ashantee. In the vicinity of the coast, it is a continued wood of lofty bushes, blended with tall trees; but, about fifteen miles inland, the forests assume a magnificent character. Gaman, as well as the greater part of Sarem, on the contrary, is an open, champaign country, with only clumps of trees, and is probably an elevated table-land.

The Ashantees are by far the most powerful and brave of the nations who inhabit these regions, and their language is widely diffused.† Of the manners

\* The preceding details are taken from Dupuis's "Journal of a Residence in Ashantee," part ii. Several obvious errors and discrepancies occur in the various statements collected; but their substantial accuracy is, we think, not to be doubted; and, in the present state of our information, they are highly valuable. Clapperton was told, that Borgoo borders on Dahomey. Mr. Dalzel was told, that Zogho is the same as Ayoh (evidently Eyeo), to whom the sovereigns of Dahomey pay tribute. If so, the declaration of the King of Youriba to Captain Clapperton was not a mere vaunt.—See p. 337 of our second volume.

† The Ashantee, Fantee, Warsaw, Akim, Assim, and Aquapim dialects are unquestionably, Mr. Bowdich says, from the same root.

and customs of this people, a very minute and revolting account has been furnished by Mr. Bowdich, the conductor of a mission to the capital in 1817. They differ in no material respect from those of the Dahomians and the neighbouring nations, as detailed by Bosman and other travellers. The leading characteristics, are, the ferocious tyranny under which the natives are passively held ; the sanguinary nature of the laws, if such they may be called ; the commonness of suicides ; the abject and horrible nature of their superstition ; and above all, the diabolical custom of immolating human victims as a part of the funeral rites of all persons of consequence ; and the wholesale slaughters which take place on extraordinary occasions,—in particular on the death of the king.\* The

\* Mr. Bowdich tells us, that the present king of Ashantee, a very “ amiable and benevolent sovereign,” on the death of his mother, devoted 3000 victims to “ water her grave,” 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.—Bowdich, p. 289. Mr. Dalzel found the road to the King of Dahomey’s cottage strewn with human skulls, and the walls almost covered with jaw-bones. At “ the annual customs,” this monarch “ waters the graves of his ancestors” with human blood ; “ and blood is mixed with clay, to build temples in honour of deceased monarchs.” See Dalzel’s History of Dahomey, —Lond. 1796. Norris’s History of Bossa Ahadee, pp. 86, 93, 100, 128. The carnage and depopulation which attended the invasion of Whydah by the Dahomans, in the last century, is represented as the most horrible that perhaps ever occurred. But in the recent wars of Ashantee, a parallel may be found. Mr. Dupuis was informed by eye-witnesses, that, in the invasion and conquest of Gaman by the present king, 10,000 old men, women, and children were put to death by tortures the most revolting to humanity.—Dupuis, p. 99. See also *Ib.* p. 140. Yet Mr. Dupuis speaks of feeling respect and attachment to this monster ; and Mrs. Bowdich praises the Ashantees for their shrewdness, intelligence, ingenuity, valour, splendour, and polish of manner ! Of their valour, our own people have, indeed, since had but too fatal an experience in their recent attack upon Cape Coast Castle and the subsequent war.

people revel in these scenes of horror, in which a barbaric pomp and glitter are strangely blended with the most wanton and disgusting barbarities, and the rites of Belial and Moloch are united. Gold-dust is the currency of Ashantee; (that of Dagomba, Gaman, Kong, and Accra, is cowries;) massive golden ornaments and golden fetishes are universally worn; gold-handled swords, with blades rusted in blood, are the pride of the chiefs; gold, in some parts less precious than salt, is here less valued than iron;\* nothing,

\* Mr. Hutton describes in glowing terms, the splendid spectacle which presented itself on entering the capital. "At least 20,000 warriors, with bright muskets and long Danish guns, appeared in view, and a hundred bands of music began to play at the same moment. The king and his captains were all dressed in cloths of the richest manufacture. Their banners and flags of different nations, English, Dutch, and Danish, and at least a hundred large umbrellas, were seen in every direction. Mr. Bowdich's description of their dress is here so correct, that I will give it nearly in his own words: 'The cabboccers and captains wore Ashantee cloths of extravagant value, which were large and heavy, and thrown over the shoulder like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet encircled their temples. Some wore necklaces of aggr'y beads, or of massy gold intricately wrought. A band of gold and beads encircled the knee. Small circles of gold, like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ancles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicately white leather; manillas and rude lumps of rich gold dangled from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the heads of some of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eyes in every direction; wolves and rams' heads, as large as life, and cast in gold, hung from their gold-handled swords, the blades of which were rusted in blood; their large drums were braced about with the thigh-bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. Behind the chairs of the chiefs stood their handsomest youths, habited much in the same costly style. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some with silver basins. Crowds of younger boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails, curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these. Their caps were made of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch-belts (composed of small gourds)

in short, is so cheap as the precious metals,—except life itself, which seems to be a possession held in utter contempt: so complete is the triumph which the principle of evil seems to have obtained over the human spirit in these savages, in the absence of any counter-active moral element. In Dahomey, the serpent is said to be the object of worship, as the hyena is at Accra, and the crocodile in Ahanta. Thus, their worship is literally an adoration of the principle of evil, under the most appropriate symbols. And such, the Roman satirist tells us, was the religion of ancient Egypt!\*

From these horrors we gladly withdraw; and must now transport our readers at once from the Gulf of Guinea to the southern extremity of Africa.

were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells hung to them. On their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than gold; the sides of their faces were painted in long white streaks, and their arms also were striped, having the appearance of armour." See also Dupuis, p. 74, &c.

\* The reader who is anxious for further information, may consult Bowdich's "Mission to Ashantee," 4to, 1819. Hutton's Voyage to Africa, 8vo, 1821 (chap. vi. *et seq.*) Dupuis's Journal of a Residence in Ashantee, 4to, 1824. Norris's Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahadee, 8vo, 1789. Dalzel's Hist. of Dahomey, 8vo, 1796; and Bosman's Guinea in Pinkerton's Collection.

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## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

NEXT to the discovery of the New Continent, the doubling of the "Stormy Cape" which separates the Atlantic from the Indian Ocean, is the greatest event in the history of modern navigation. In 1497, the Hero of Camoens, following up the discovery of Bartholomew Diaz, first accomplished this bold adventure. In their subsequent voyages to and from India, the Portuguese often touched on this coast for provisions and water ; but they do not appear to have formed any permanent settlement.\* It was not till the middle of the seventeenth century, that the Dutch East India Company, perceiving the advantages that might be derived from the possession of this "half-way house to India," laid the foundations of a settlement at Cape Town.† In 1718, when Peter Kolben published his highly coloured account of the colony, it had not extended itself beyond the narrow plain lying between the sea and the two mountain-chains of the Zwarte Berg (Black Mountain) and the Bokkeveld. On the north, the boundary appears to have been formed by the Berg river, which falls into St. Helena Bay; and the eastern limit was Mossel Bay. The great Karroo, and the regions of Sneeuwberg and Kaffre Land, seem to have been at that time entirely unknown.

\* In 1510, Francis Almeida, first viceroy of the Portuguese dominions in India, was defeated and killed in an obstinate engagement with the Hottentots, near the Salt River, not far from the site now occupied by Cape Town.

† The Company under whose protection the first settlement took place, "seem not then to have regarded the conquest or appropriation of the country as an object worthy of their attention. It was considered merely as an appendage to Batavia, and a convenient station for watering and refreshing the fleets engaged in their eastern commerce,"—Philip, vol. i. p. 16.

When the Dutch took possession of the Cape in 1652, the natives appear to have been much more numerous than they now are, and to have possessed large herds of cattle.\* For a considerable period, the intercourse between the colonists and the natives, was conducted in the most amicable spirit; the Dutch paying honestly for the sheep and cattle furnished by the Hottentots, with copper beads, tobacco, and brandy. But, as the colonists increased in number, and began to feel their security and strength, the difficulty of supplying their wants by barter and fair purchase, led to encroachments, which daily augmented, till they became no longer endurable. Posts were formed in advance of the fort, and productive patches of land began to be considered as the property of the settlers. The Hottentots gradually and insensibly ebbed away, with their flocks and herds, from the vicinity of Table Bay, and the Cape Peninsula; and the strangers steadily advanced, fixing their durable houses of stone where the fragile and temporary huts of the native herdsmen had sprung up and disappeared as caprice and the change of seasons dictated. In some instances, it is pretended, that tracts of land were regularly purchased from the native chiefs or captains of their respective hordes, who, being in no manner straitened for territory, ceded, for a trifling consideration, their most valuable possessions. How such bargains were concluded, and whether the natives understood that, by such transactions, they renounced the right of pasturage and occasional occupation, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is probable, remarks

\* "It appears, from the minutes of an investigation before the governor, Van der Stell, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, that a single Hottentot village had been robbed of cattle by the colonists to the amount of 2000 head."—Philip, vol. i. p. 4.

Dr. Philip, whose language we are using, “ that their notions went no further than to concede the joint and friendly use of the springs and herbage common among themselves.

“ No limit being fixed to the extension of the colony by these means, the number of boors (as the farmers were called) rapidly increased ; and, as they removed further and further from the seat of government, their trade with the natives began to be occasionally interrupted by disputes and quarrels. Driven back towards the north and north-east, among dry and barren tracts, the Hottentots, seeing their herds and flocks diminishing, and scarcely sufficient for their own wants, avoided the barterers or merchants who came to traffic with them, either on their own account, or as agents of the Dutch Government, and withdrew, on their approach, to the least accessible places. To increase this feeling of jealousy and apprehension, some outrages committed by the colonists greatly contributed ; and before the end of the century, it appears, that some inoffensive *kraals* or villages had been surprised and plundered by rovers from the settlement.

“ The aspect of affairs was now entirely altered. The colonists, firmly established in the south-western portions of the country, began to regard the receding Hottentots as enemies and intruders ; and though actual hostilities had not commenced between them and the Company, it was obvious, that the very existence of the natives was about to be considered as subservient to the interests of the boors..... It was not the interest or the intention of the Dutch East India Company to come to a rupture with the natives, or to reduce them to poverty. Their object, of obtaining supplies at a cheap rate, was more readily attained by encouraging them in their pastoral occupations, and

protecting them against extortion and plunder. The rapid growth of the colony, however, soon placed this beyond their power ; and the successive governors, either from weakness or a want of correct information, were led, first, to wink at the aggressions of the colonists, and, finally, to aid them in their enterprises.

“ The flattering and fabulous accounts of the new colony published by Kolben, drew thither every day new settlers from the mother country ; and this influx of strangers, together with the children born to the former colonists, occasioned an increasing demand for new lands and servants. Every addition of territory requiring additional hands to cultivate it, the colonists, after having deprived the poor natives of their springs of water, now penetrated into the deserts and mountains to seize their women and children, and to reduce them to slavery on the lands which their husbands and fathers had occupied as a free and independent people. The aborigines, who had for a long time suffered with exemplary patience the injuries inflicted upon them, finding that no retreat could protect them from the cruelties of their oppressors, sought resources of annoyance from the desperate condition to which they were reduced ; and the colonists, smarting under the re-action of the accumulated evils they had heaped upon them during the space of seventy years, and which could no longer be endured, formed the project of making the colonial government a party in assisting them to enslave or exterminate all that remained of the original inhabitants. But to attempt so monstrous a project as this, or even openly to seize the property of a whole nation, without some alleged provocation or imminent necessity, would, in all probability, have excited the disapprobation of the governor, and retarded the accomplishment of their design.



They sent, therefore, to the seat of Government the most vilifying representations, imputing to the Bushmen the most depraved and pernicious propensities, and accusing them of incessantly plundering the property of the colonists. The Government, which had by this time (1770) declined from the purity of its principles, was misled by the force of these charges, aided, perhaps, by a share of the colonial habits of feeling with respect to the natives which it had by this time acquired: this scheme of the colonists was therefore speedily authorised. And it was not long before the administration entered as warmly into it as the colonists themselves: for we find that, in the year 1774, the whole race of Bushmen, or Hottentots, who had not submitted to servitude, was ordered to be seized or extirpated; the privilege of slavery was designed exclusively for the women and children; the men, whose natural habits disqualified them for the purposes of the colonists, and whose revenge was probably dreaded, were destined to death.

“ The decision of Government was followed by an order for the raising of three *commandoes*, or military parties, to proceed against this unfortunate race. These were usually raised by the different field-cornets, who collected the colonists on the frontier in their respective jurisdictions, having one commandant over the whole. They were to be armed, and to scour the neighbouring country to discover the abodes of the Bushmen; and when they espied a kraal, they were to surprise it if possible, and, singling out the men, to shoot them. The surviving women and children were to be divided and shared among the members of the expedition, or distributed among the neighbouring farmers.

“ There is no record remaining to shew the district

to which the first commando was sent, or how long it continued in the field ; but it appears that the party engaged in this service in the month of September, 1774, in the space of eight days, succeeded in shooting ninety-six Bushmen. The women and children taken prisoners were divided among the men, but their number is not specified in the official report. Van Wyk was the name of the commandant.

“ The second commando was conducted by a boor named Marais. In his report to the Colonial Office, he states, that he had taken one hundred and eighteen prisoners, who, it is presumed, must have been women and children, but the number killed is not mentioned.

“ The third commando, under Vander Merwe, was commissioned to the Bokkeveld, where they destroyed one hundred and forty-two Bushmen. Whether his humanity was shocked at his sanguinary employment, the duration of which, to fulfil the purposes of Government, must then have appeared indefinite, or whether he dreaded their superior numbers, is uncertain ; but, in violation of his instructions, he concluded a peace with the remaining chiefs. The Government, on hearing of this transaction, highly resented it, and degraded all the field-cornets who had concurred with him in the measure. And on the following year, these expeditions appear to have been repeated twice ; one, on the 12th of June, succeeded in killing forty-eight of the devoted Bushmen, and would have followed up the carnage, had not their numbers been insufficient. The number of wounded would, in all likelihood, greatly exceed that of the slain on these occasions, as they never ceased to run or scramble among the rocks in search of hiding-places, until life forsook them ; appearing to dread being taken, more than death itself.

“ In the year 1777, several commandoes were sent against the Bushmen. One, under the command of Opperman, met with a kraal in which were three hundred men ; but his number being small, he killed only twenty. Anxious, however, for greater means of destruction, having informed Government of the fact, he sent a letter, signed by six-and-twenty colonists, stating that two commandoes had been sent against the Bushmen, but their numbers were so great that they could not subdue them, and that, in consequence, many farmers had been compelled to leave the Sneeuwberg for Brintjes-Hoogte. This application had the desired effect. Orders were instantly issued, that the colonists on the frontier should renew their attempts to extirpate this proscribed race, and many Bushmen were sacrificed.

“ About this time, the Governor of the colony took a journey into the interior ; and finding the system there adopted insufficient to extirpate the Bushmen, he ordered, on his return, the commandoes to be increased, and directed, in the most positive manner, that this unhappy race should be destroyed.

“ In the year 1779, the commando system was carried on with great vigour. Most of the reports are lost, but, from what remains, we learn, that one hundred and fifteen Bushmen were killed, while the orders of Government for their entire extermination were repeated so peremptorily, that it is matter of surprise that the whole country was not depopulated.

“ For several successive years, this system was carried on with various success, as the Bushmen became more cautious as well as more resolute in their resistance, and Government from time to time granted supplies of ammunition. The reports, however, are

missing ; but the numbers slain must have been very great, since, besides those killed by the commandoes, many were shot by private hands.

“ In 1785, the Commandant Villiers reports, that cattle would soon be scarce, unless Government resorted to more effective measures with the Bushmen ; and he submitted to the governor and council the propriety of making a grant of the land between Plettenberg’s Baaken and the Zak river, to be held in perpetual quit rent by those who had been most zealous in the depopulation of the Bushman country, and for which nothing was to be paid the first ten years, but afterwards the annual sum of twenty-four rix-dollars. This was readily complied with, and a grant of ammunition was ordered for a commando to clear the country for its intended inhabitants.

“ In 1787, the landdrost and military court of Graaf-Reinet sent out a very strong commando, divided into five parties, with orders to march to different parts of the country, ‘ *and destroy at once that pernicious nation.*’ Intelligence of this was sent to Stellenbosch, to the landdrost and district court there, with a request that they would co-operate efficiently with them. What was the result of this irruption into the Bushman country, there are no reports extant to declare ; but, as the Stellenbosch district then included the whole of Tulbagh or Worcester, and consequently reached the limits of the Graaff-Reinet district, the frontiers of the two districts extended the whole length of the territory belonging to the Bushmen, and their entire destruction seemed almost inevitable.

“ In 1792, an expedition was undertaken against the Bushmen occupying that district which lies between the Tulbagh district and the Zak river. It was under



the command of Van der Walt.....who undertook the destruction of the Bushmen in that district, on the understood principle that he was to have the Nieuweveld as a reward for his services; and it was granted to him by Government on that ground, in 1793, and on the condition that he was to continue his exertions to extirpate the Bushmen.....Hostilities never ceased for a day between them and their implacable enemies, who considered the murder of a free Bushman, wherever found, and under whatever circumstances, as a duty or a meritorious act; while, by the capture of their women and children, the murderers increased their stock of slaves and dependents. In their hunting parties, or when travelling across the country for pleasure or on business, the boors massacred these natives as game or as noxious animals; and it is not improbable, that the numbers killed by the regular commandoes fall short of those murdered by private individuals. 'A farmer,' says Barrow, in 1797, 'thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaff-Reinet, being asked in the Secretary's office a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches.'

"The backwardness which began to manifest itself, about this period, among the farmers, to go on commandoes against the Bushmen, was shewn chiefly by those who resided at a distance from the frontier, and arose partly from the fatigue and loss of time they

occasioned, and partly from their no longer feeling any interest in the division of the captives; those already obtained, with the addition of their slaves and Hottentot bondmen, being sufficient for all their wants. They thought it hard to be dragged from their families, for whose protection against their newly tamed domestics their presence might be necessary, to encounter long night-marches through a parched and barren country, together with the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, merely to conquer a farm for such heroes as Van der Walt. To this cause, and not to any deficiency of courage, much less to any feelings of humanity, no trace of which is to be found in Bushman warfare, candour compels us to ascribe the defection of the boors on this occasion; for, though the condition of those who were made prisoners was, in fact, worse than that of slavery, yet, not being transferable property, they were considered as of less value than slaves. Accordingly, an attempt was made at Graaff-Reinet to induce the Government to grant them leave to sell such Bushmen as should be taken prisoners, on condition of ten rix-dollars being paid into the treasury for every such slave sold. This proposal, 'made,' as it is stated in the records, 'for the purpose of rousing the military ardour of the farmers, which was of late observed to have abated,' was unanimously carried in the council, but it did not receive the sanction of the Government at the Cape.

"The effect of this system upon the Bushmen was, to transform them from peaceable, contented, and useful neighbours and visitors, into ferocious and vindictive enemies, till they rivalled, in some measure, the colonists themselves in cruelty and rapacity. Stripped of their plains and fountains, deprived of their flocks and herds, and finally, robbed of their wives and children,

and followed with the rifle, even to their hiding places among the caverns and holes of the rocks, they had few resources besides plunder, no gratification but revenge." \*

This atrocious system continued to be prosecuted with little intermission up to the year 1795, when the English first obtained possession of the colony.† The Hottentots, despoiled of their lands, robbed or cajoled out of their flocks and herds, were, with a few exceptions, reduced to personal servitude, under circumstances which rendered them more wretched and more helpless than the slaves with whom they were now associated. The numerous free villages with which the country at one time abounded, had almost entirely disappeared; and the few miserable hordes who had established themselves in some of the districts, had no longer the power of choosing their own chiefs. "Those dispersed among the farmers as servants, were still more miserable. Having no protector, and his master no superior at hand to check his excesses, the unfortunate bondman was urged to incessant toil by the infliction of the most cruel and revolting punishments. Though nominally a free man, blows and stripes could

\* Philip's Researches, vol. i. pp. 17—54.

† Mr. Barrow, who traversed the colony as far as the Orange river, in 1797, and was himself an eye-witness of some of the atrocities of the colonial commandoes, denounces the system in the following forcible language:—"The abominable expeditions which are carried on, under the authority of Government, against this miserable race, ought not, on any consideration, to be tolerated. They answer no other purpose than that of irritating and rendering more savage the unhappy creatures who are the objects of them. The boors are chiefly induced to undertake them with the view of securing for their service, the women and children. It is a well authenticated fact, that, in proportion as they are hunted down by the boors, their ferocity towards the Christians has increased."—Barrow, vol. i. p. 247.

be heaped upon him as on a slave, at the caprice of his master ; and as the latter lost nothing by his mutilation or death, these were not unfrequently the result of his hasty or deliberate vengeance. Nor were they at liberty to choose their employment or their masters. Government had directed, that any Dutch peasant should be allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of the Hottentots in his service, to whom he had given in their infancy a morsel of bread. Should a Hottentot, therefore, who had engaged himself for a year, attempt to remove at the expiration of his term, he would be permitted, or perhaps driven away ; but his children, who had been encouraged to enter the house of the boor, and to receive a morsel of food, were detained. By this means, in general, the whole family were eventually bound as with a chain.

“ The degradation of the Hottentot character was the necessary result of such treatment. A deep and habitual gloom and depression of spirits took place of that hilarity which had formerly distinguished them. Their indolence increased to a degree hardly credible, and they became more and more addicted to gluttony and drunkenness. For this last vice, they were indebted entirely to their new masters. Their numbers began greatly to decline ; the very structure of their bodies was said to have shrunk, and to have lost its force and agility ; and the whole race seemed rapidly hastening to annihilation.

“ On the outskirts of the colony, and on some tracts of land of inferior quality, which the boors had not yet thought fit to appropriate, a few hordes under their respective captains still enjoyed a sort of permitted independence. But they were too sensible of their weakness to resist the encroachments of the meanest



colonist. ‘For want of strength and power,’ said one of these captains to Sparrman, ‘the Hottentots are now no longer in a condition to withstand the encroachments of the colonists ; almost every day, some Hottentot or other being obliged to remove with his cattle, whenever the pasture he was in possession of happened to suit a colonist. The Hottentot captains had, indeed, formerly been left undisturbed in their possessions ; but now, they had likewise elbowed him (though a captain appointed to that office by government) out of a more eligible situation ; and even began to grudge him the meagre and parched fields he was in possession of nearer the sea-shore, notwithstanding that they were extremely dangerous for sheep and cattle, both on account of the unhealthiness of the situation, and its being exposed to the incursions of wild beasts.’

“ Yet, this oppressed and persecuted people were daily rendering the most essential services to the colonists. The protection of their numerous herds and flocks was entirely committed to their care. In deserts infested by wild beasts, and on plains where not a tree or shrub could be found to protect him from the vertical rays of the sun, or to shield him against the frosts and snows of winter, the faithful Hottentot wandered with his charge in search of food or water ; a task which, but for him, must have devolved on his ungrateful master and his slothful children. But the Cape farmer had already got a taste for slaves, which, once being excited, speedily stifles every idea of natural justice.

“ No attempts had been made to improve their moral condition, to restrain their passions, or to refine their appetites. In this respect, they had evidently degenerated since their intercourse with Europeans.

But they still retained their characteristic and apparently unconscious adherence to truth, which is generally the first of the virtues that disappears before the frown of an absolute master; and that generosity which is never satisfied so long as a morsel of food remains undivided among his companions, still distinguished the simple and improvident Hottentot. As for religion, it was considered as a serious crime to mention the subject to a native. They were not admitted within the walls of the churches. By a notice stuck above the doors of one of the churches, ‘Hottentots and *dogs*’ were forbidden to enter.

“Such was the state of the natives within the settled districts of the colony. It was surrounded, on the north and east, by tribes of savages, driven to subsist on plunder by the predatory excursions of the boors, or exasperated to the highest pitch of ferocity by their repeated attacks and massacres. The Namaqua Hottentots, formerly inhabiting the Nieuweveld, the Bokkeveld, and the Roggeveld, worn out by the repeated robberies committed upon them by the colonists, retired into the immense deserts stretching from the Kamiesberg to the bay of Angra Pequina, on the south-west coast of Africa. There they might have expected to have been allowed to remain, with the few cattle left them, unmolested; but the cupidity and violence which drove them from their springs of water, followed them occasionally into these waste regions; and they speak with horror of the scenes which usually took place when the white men surprised their kraals, to capture their women, their children, and their cattle. The Corannas and Bushmen were in similar circumstances, plundering the frontier boors to-day, hunted down and shot by the boors to-morrow. On the east, the Caffers and the colonists were constantly coming into hostile collision,

and inflicting on each other mutual injuries. Such was the wretched condition of the natives within and around the borders of the colony ; and as it was said to have arisen in a great measure from the weakness of the Dutch Government, which found itself unable to check the fierce spirit of the frontier boors, now confident in their numbers and remote situation, so as to be ready on any occasion to assert their independence,—it was to be expected the new Government, whose fault certainly was not its weakness, would speedily restore order, and assert the violated rights of humanity. If the natives were not deemed entirely incapable of being civilised, it was clearly for the benefit of all parties, to adopt or to patronise every rational scheme for reclaiming them from their savage state, in which they were not only useless, but hurtful to the community. Powder and ball, the only means hitherto adopted for reducing them to peace, had only rendered them more ferocious, as far as regarded the tribes on the frontier ; and the poor dejected Hottentots, who had been reduced to servitude, were decreasing every day in numbers and usefulness ; and not to mention the light which had been thrown on the subject by various writers worthy of the highest respect, the records existing in the government offices were alone sufficient to excite the immediate attention of the new possessors of the Cape.”

“ General Dundas was the first English governor who seems to have been impressed with the necessity of interfering between the natives and their oppressors. The rebellious conduct of some of the boors, and their defiance of the constituted authorities, made him less ready to listen to their representations respecting the degraded and mischievous character ascribed to the Hottentots ; although it does not

appear that he ever had leisure to mature any effective scheme for the melioration of that people. He gave, however, a favourable reception to the Missionaries sent to the Cape by the London Missionary Society (in 1799), who came to labour in the same field with the Moravians, but with greater force; and when the colony, in pursuance of an article in the treaty of Amiens, was restored to the Dutch, he discovered an honourable solicitude for their personal safety under circumstances which rendered their situation exceedingly perilous.\*

“On the arrival of the new Governor, General Janssens, the frontier boors proposed that all the Hottentots should be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put upon his legs; and that they should be distributed among them as slaves. The state of public opinion in Europe would not have admitted, had the General been so inclined, a method of enslaving the people, of so direct a nature; and the proposal was rejected with becoming spirit. Not at all discouraged by their defeat, a fresh objection was found against the Missionary Institution, in the change which had taken place in the colonial government, in having passed from the hands of the English to those of the Dutch. It was insinuated, that a mission to evangelize the Hottentots, conducted by Englishmen, was pregnant with danger to the Dutch government of the colony. This objection, which was too subtle to have originated with the boors, had been suggested to them by some of their friends at head-quarters.”† The boors, in fact, cared little who were the masters of the colony, so long as they might pursue their atrocious system

\* Philip, vol. i. pp. 55—62.

† *Ib.*, vol. i. p. 90.



towards the wretched natives ; and their chief, if not their only objection against the English Government under General Dundas, was the favour shewn to the Hottentots. Between the United Provinces and the Cape Colony, there was, says Mr. Barrow, "no natural tie." The greater part of the colonists were of French or German origin ;\* and the settlement, though nominally restored to the Batavian Republic, was actually become a colony of France.

Gouverneur Jaussens, who appears to have been a man of the most upright intentions, saw through the interested clamours of the boors against the Missionaries ; their first proposals were, in fact, too gross to be listened to ; but either he had not firmness enough, or the Government was too weak, to allow him to withstand their persevering importunities. In 1805, the Missionaries were summoned to Cape Town, to answer to some calumnious charges laid against them by the farmers, and were there detained nearly

\* "The greater part of the colonists," says Mr. Barrow, "being the descendants of soldiers in German regiments, composed of Prussians, Hanoverians, Flemings, and Poles, and of French refugees who took shelter here after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, have neither knowledge of, nor family connexions in, the states of the Batavian Republic ; nor have they any distinct idea of *Vaderland* ; a word, however, that is constantly in their mouths. All they know is, that the Cape belonged to a company of merchants ; that this company was their sovereign ; and that they used to see a flag with three broad horizontal stripes, red, white, and blue, flying upon the castle, instead of the *Spinnekop*, or spider-legs, as they called the British ensign. A few years more would, therefore, in all probability, have rendered the greater part of them very indifferent as to the government under which they were to remain." Barrow, vol. i. p. 423. But the farmers fully expected that, with the return of the Dutch Government, the mission of Dr. Vanderkemp would be suppressed, and that the Hottentots would be abandoned to their tender mercies ; on this account, the news of the article of the Treaty of Amiens was received with exultation.

nine months in a state of suspense and inaction ; the Governor refusing either to put them upon their trial, or to allow of their return to the Interior to prosecute their labours. Their patience being at length exhausted, they had formed a resolution to leave the country, when, on the 4th of January, 1806, the arrival of an English fleet in Table Bay, produced a material change in their circumstances, as well as in those of the colony. On the 20th, Cape Town was surrendered to the British.

“ Had the Dutch continued to retain possession of the Cape,” Dr. Philip remarks, “ many of the Hottentots, like the Javanese, might still have regretted the departure of the English from among them ; but they have since been taught by experience, that the humanity with which they were at first treated by us, was less owing to any superiority in our national character, than to a fortunate conjunction of circumstances. When the English first took possession of the Cape, the Hottentots hailed their arrival, before they knew any thing of the character of their deliverers ; and the story of their sufferings made a strong impression on the minds of a people who entertained a great aversion to their first oppressors, and who had, as yet, no interest to serve by enslaving them. The English found that the Hottentots could be trusted ; they received from them the most efficient assistance in suppressing the insurrections of the boors ; and, therefore, while the boors continued to be disaffected to the Government, the Hottentots enjoyed the smiles of the British authorities. But, when the boors, finding that the English were likely to retain permanent possession of the Cape, became reconciled to their new masters, the services of the Hottentots were forgotten, and their interests

were sacrificed to this union. It was soon perceived by the Missionaries, that, under the new system, the oppression of the Hottentots continued as under the old government; and Dr. Vanderkemp [found that the new English authorities paid as little attention to his complaints as the Dutch authorities had been in the habit of doing."\*

From this period, the annals of the colony exhibit a continued struggle, which the missionaries have had to maintain against the district authorities and the Colonial Government itself, in prosecuting [their attempts to introduce religion and civilization among the native tribes. Into the details of this conflict between interested rapacity and corruption on the one hand; and Christian philanthropy on the other, it is not our province to enter. For ample and authentic information upon this subject, the reader must be referred to Dr. Philip's "Researches in South Africa," from which the preceding outline has been taken; a work which, by the mass of unassailable evidence it embodies, precludes all attempt at reply to its allegations, while its clear, temperate, but manly appeal to the Legislature, has, we hope we may say, won the cause to which the Author has so piously and heroically devoted himself.

The actual condition of the Hottentot population under the colonial laws, is thus described by Dr. Philip.

"The Hottentot is in a worse condition than the slave. The system of oppression under which the Hottentot groans, is attended with all the evils of the slave system; and those evils are, in many instances, more aggravated in the virulence of their character, without any of those mitigating circumstances which have been

\* Philip, vol. i. p. 115.

urged in defence of common slavery. The only difference in favour of the condition of the Hottentot is, that he cannot, according to the institutions of the colony, be publicly bought and sold ; but this difference will appear to be more in name than in reality, when it is recollected, that he is at present nothing more than an object of patronage, a perquisite of office, a kind of transferable property ; and that this circumstance, which makes him of less value to the master, subjects him to hardships from which the common slave is, to a certain degree, exempted.

“ While all that the Hottentot gains by being transferred from one master to another, is little more than the slave enjoys, on a West India plantation, in being transferred from under the jurisdiction of one overseer to that of another ; the circumstance in the case of the Hottentot, that this transfer may be made, and the master lose his service, without any pecuniary indemnification, must lessen the interest the master feels in the well-being of the Hottentot, while he remains with him.

“ It is on this principle, that the food of the Hottentot is generally of an inferior quality, and less in quantity, than that allowed the slave ; that he seldom has any medical assistance afforded him when he is sick ; that the punishments inflicted upon him are in general more frequent and more severe than those inflicted upon the slave,—the master sustaining no loss of property should his constitution sink under his hardships.

“ The same cause, which leaves them without the aids of even a selfish sympathy in the service of their masters, deprives them of a protection which the slaves enjoy against the injuries to which they are exposed from strangers. The apprehension of the indignation



of the master will, on many occasions, preserve the slave from maltreatment ; but the Hottentot has no friend sufficiently interested in him to furnish him with a shield against bad usage ; and such as are disposed to oppress him, know this circumstance, and that they may trample upon him and his family with impunity.”\*

Nor are the Hottentots the only class of natives whose wrongs call loudly for redress. It now appears that the commando system so pathetically and indignantly denounced by Mr. Barrow, has been going forward under the connivance of the British authorities with increased activity and aggravated atrocity.

“In no period of equal length,” says Dr. Philip, “in the history of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, has the work of death and slavery been carried on with the same degree of success which has attended it in the interim between 1817 and 1825. In 1816, we had 1600 people belonging to our Bushman stations of Toverberg and Hephzibah ; and the Bushmen, though reduced and harassed by the commandoes which had been sent against them, were still the nominal possessors of the Bushman country south of the Orange river, and were to be seen existing in separate and independent kraals, in different parts of that country. But in 1825, when I visited their country, those kraals had disappeared ; the missionary stations had all been put down ; the country was then in the possession of the farmers ; and the poor Bushmen still residing in it, were either in their service, or living like fugitives among the rocks, afraid to appear by day-light, lest they should be shot at like wild beasts.

“Barrow travelled in this country in 1797 ; and by

\* Philip, vol. i pp. 159—163.

the following remarkable fact which he relates, we are furnished with a standard, by which we may take a comparative view of the destructive effects of the commandoes against the Bushmen, under the Dutch and the English governments :—

“ ‘ Twenty years ago,’ says this writer, ‘ it seems they were less numerous and less ferocious than at the present day ; and their boldness, as well as their numbers, is said of late to have very much increased. At one time, they were pretty well kept under by the regular expeditions of the peasantry which were undertaken against them. Each division had its commandant, who was authorised to raise a certain number of men, and these were furnished by Government with powder and ball. It was a service at all times taken with reluctance, especially by such as were least exposed to the attacks of the savages ; and during the late disturbances at Graaf-Reinet, these expeditions met with considerable interruptions. The people of Bruintjes-hoogte were the first who failed in raising their proportion of men. Zuurveldt was deserted, and Camdeboo and Zwart Ruggens became negligent and remiss. The people of Sneeuwberg, lying nearest to the common enemy, were left to sustain the whole burden of repelling its attacks ; and had they not conducted themselves with great fortitude, perseverance, and address, that valuable part of the colony, the nursery of cattle, would now have been abandoned. A whole division, called the *Tarka*, and a great part of another, the *Sea-Cow River*, and *Rhinoceros-berg*, had been deserted, as well as a small part of Sneeuwberg.’

“ In the whole history of Dutch colonization, there is not, perhaps, a single part of that history, which reflects so much discredit upon their national character, as their conduct towards this unfortunate race of people ;

and yet, it appears from the statement of Mr. Barrow, and the statement is countenanced by the details he gives, that the Bushmen had been increasing in numbers and ferocity for twenty years previous to the period at which he wrote; that is, during the greater part of the time that the commando system existed under the Dutch government.

“After making some allowance for the exaggeration as to the increase of their numbers, which might be occasioned by the alarm of the colonists, we are justified in asserting, that their sufferings under the Dutch government, did not amount to one-tenth of what they have had to endure under the English government.

“Judging from the detestation in which this country had been accustomed to hold the tyranny of the Dutch towards the aborigines of its colonies, and from the style in which their cruelty to the Bushmen was described by Barrow and other travellers, it might have been expected, that the transfer of the government into British hands was an event in which humanity had to rejoice. But what is the fact? During the last twenty-two years of the Dutch government at the Cape, the Bushmen were oppressed; yet, notwithstanding their oppressions, in 1796, they were still powerful. Since the English took possession of the colony in 1796, what was, in the time of the Dutch government, the Bushman country, has been brought into the possession of the colonists; and the people who were so powerful in 1796, as to threaten the colony, are now reduced to slavery, or to the condition of miserable fugitives in what was then their own country.

“Forcibly dispossessed of their country, or, at least the only valuable parts of it, and of the game on which they subsisted, were the conduct of the colonists

toward them ever so mild, little would remain for them but starvation; but, as the colonists are solely intent upon their slavery or their destruction, the distribution of the former through their country must give them, almost without the aid of commandoes, tenfold greater facilities. Besides the commando system, which has been revived, the Bushmen that escaped were treated as outlaws, and either driven from their native soil, or seized by the farmers. The whole of their country to the north-east, (the only fertile part,) from the former borders to the great Orange river, has been measured out by the colonial government to the new proprietors; and every Bushman who has survived the means taken to clear the country, and who is not in the service of the farmers, exists by sufferance only in a fugitive state. This fact is sufficient to shew the grounds why the missions were abolished: the plan could not have been executed while the missions existed; and the lights were put out, that what could not bear the eye of a witness, might be perpetrated in the dark. The facts before us are sufficient to shew how the evils heaped upon the Bushmen have been much greater under the English government than under the Dutch. The colonists have since that period prodigiously increased; they are not now at a distance from the Bushmen, but press upon their habitations; and the much more extended frontier presents more numerous points of attack. These circumstances, together with the high price of slaves, and their scarcity, from being divided among an increased white population, has greatly accelerated the work of extermination, and thrown an immensely greater number into the hands of the colonists. The difference between the former and the present state of their country, is the difference between



a country occasionally invaded by an enemy, and that country with all its forts, castles, and fenced cities in the possession of that enemy. Under the old system, the enemy came at particular seasons only, and the Bushmen were warned of their approach, and could shun them; but their enemies now cover every part of their country, and have left them the means neither of defence nor of concealment.

“ Extended as the present frontier of the colony is, it will not stop there. Within the last thirty years, the frontier of the colony has been extending in every direction; and, as a proof that the colonists will not be satisfied to confine themselves within the bounds which have been fixed for them, the people of New Hantam had scarcely seated themselves in the Bushman country, on the banks of the great Orange river, when they began to cross it to seek new grazing grounds for their cattle, and to kill game (the only provision on which the natives had to depend) beyond it; and there are on the other side of that river, and immediately beyond the eastern and northern limits of the colony, numerous and interesting nations, who must shortly share the melancholy fate of the hordes who occupied what was formerly known to us as the Bushman country, unless British humanity and British justice throw their protecting shield over them.” \*

Hitherto, the missionary stations in South Africa have been the only places where the natives have enjoyed the shadow of protection. In these houses of refuge alone, they could claim an exemption from the most humiliating and degrading sufferings. To suppress or to ruin these institutions, has therefore been the chief aim of the Colonial Government during

\* Philip's Researches, vol. ii. pp. 269—272; 46, 7.

the recent nefarious administration ; and to the firmness of the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society's institutions in that country it must be attributed, that they have not been totally extinguished.

We must now proceed to give a statistical sketch of the colony. At the time that Mr. Barrow published his *Travels in South Africa*, the colonial territory extended along the Atlantic coast northward as high as the mouth of the River Koussie, in latitude  $30^{\circ} 15'$ . On the southern coast, its boundary eastward was the Great Fish River, the Rio d'Infantè of the Portuguese ; while its inland frontier reached to a point 225 miles N.N.W. of the mouth of that river, called Plettenberg's Landmark ; whence it described "a circular sweep inwards" to the mouth of the Koussie, a distance of upwards of 500 miles. "By reducing this irregular figure to a parallelogram," says Mr. Barrow, "it will be found to comprehend an area of at least 120,000 square miles. And as it appears that the whole population of whites, blacks, and Hottentots within this area, amounts only to about 60,000 souls, every two square miles may be said to have at least *one* human creature upon it. If, therefore, the Dutch at home occupy one of the most populous countries in Europe, they possess abroad the most desert colony that is to be met with on the face of the globe. A very great proportion, however, of this settlement may be considered as an unprofitable waste, unfit for any sort of culture or even pasture. Level plains, consisting of a hard, impenetrable surface of clay, thinly sprinkled over with crystallized sand, condemned to perpetual drought, and producing only a few straggling tufts of acrid,

saline, and succulent plants,—and chains of vast mountains that are either totally naked, or clothed in parts with sour grasses only, or such plants as are noxious to animal life, compose at least one-half of the colony. These chains of mountains and the interjacent plains are extended generally in the direction of east and west; except that particular range which, beginning at False Bay, opposite to the Cape Point, stretches northward along the western coast as far as the mouth of Olifant's River, which is about 210 miles.

“The first great chain of mountains that runs east and west,” (Lange Kloof or Long Pass,) “incloses between it and the southern coast, an irregular belt of land from 20 to 60 miles in width, indented by several bays, covered with a deep and fertile soil, intersected by numerous streamlets, well clothed with grass and small arboreous or frutescent plants, well wooded in many parts with forest trees, supplied with frequent rains, and enjoying, on account of its proximity to the sea, a more mild and equable temperature than the more remote and interior parts of the colony.

“The next great chain is the Zwarte Berg or Black Mountain. This is considerably more lofty and rugged than the first, and consists, in many places, of double, and sometimes treble ranges. The belt inclosed between it and the first chain, is about the mean width of that between the first and the sea. Its surface is very varied; composed, in some parts, of barren hills; in others, of naked, arid plains of clay, known to the natives, and also to the colonists, by the name of *karroo*; and in others, of choice patches of well-watered and fertile grounds. The general surface of this belt has a considerable elevation above that of the first; the temperature is less uniform; and, from the

nature of the soil, as well as the difficulty of access over the mountains, which are passable only in a few places, this district may be considered as much less valuable than the other.

“ The third range of mountains is, the Nieuwveldt’s Gebergte, which, with the second, grasps the Great Karroo, an arid plain, uninhabited by a human creature. This desert, making the third step or terrace of Southern Africa, is greatly elevated above the second ; is nearly 300 miles in length from E. to W., and 80 in breadth ; is scarcely ever moistened by a shower of rain ; and exhibits a surface of clay thinly sprinkled over with sand, out of which a few shrivelled and parched plants here and there meet the eye, faintly extending their half-withered fibres along the ground, and struggling, as it were, to preserve their existence against the excessive heat of one season, and the severe frosts of the other.

“ The country likewise ascends from the western coast towards the interior in successive terraces, of which the most elevated, called the Roggeveld, falls in with the Nieuwveldt. The whole tract of country to the northward, is much more sandy, barren, and thinly inhabited, than to the eastward ; in which direction it seems to increase in beauty and fertility with the distance from the Cape.

“ All the continued chains of mountains in Southern Africa, are composed of sandstone, resting upon a base of granite. This granite base is sometimes elevated considerably above the general surface of the country, and sometimes its upper part is sunk as far beneath it. In situations where the former happens to be the case, numerous springs are sure to be found : as in the instance of Table Mountain, where, on every side, copious



streams of pure, limpid water, filtered through the immense mass of superincumbent sandstone, glide over the impenetrable surface of granite, furnishing an ample supply to the whole town, the gardens, and the adjacent farms. But, in all those places where the sandstone continues to descend below the surface, and the granite base is sunk beneath the general level of the country, the springs that make their appearance are few and scanty.\*

“The two principal rivers on the western coast are, the Berg or Mountain River, which takes its rise in the mountains that enclose the Vale of Drakenstein, and falls into St. Helena Bay; and the Olifant, or Elephants’ River, which, after collecting the streamlets of the first chain of mountains in its northerly course along their feet, empties itself into the Southern Atlantic, in  $31^{\circ} 30' S$ . Though both these rivers have permanent streams of water sufficiently deep to be navigable by small craft to the distance of about twenty miles up the country, yet, the mouth of the former is choked up with a bed of sand, and across the latter is a reef of rocks.

“On the south coast of the colony, the permanent rivers, of any magnitude, are, the Broad River, the Gauritz River, the Knysna, the Keurboom River, the Camtoos River, the Zwart-kops River, the Sunday

\* It is inferred from these facts, that the cisterns or cavities in the sandstone mountains, being corroded or fretted away, in the lapse of ages, to a greater depth than the original conduits of the waters, the springs can no longer find their way upon the surface, but, oozing between the granite and sandstone, escape by subterraneous channels to the sea. In support of this theory, it is urged, that, on almost every part of the isthmus that connects the peninsula of the Cape with the continent, fresh water is obtained at 10 or 12 feet below the sandy surface; and in the Namaqua country, clear, subterraneous streams are every where found under the sandy beds of the rivers.]

River, and the Great Fish River; the last of which terminates the colony to the eastward. All these rivers are well stocked with perch, eels, and small turtle; and, to a certain distance from the coast, they abound with almost every kind of sea-fish peculiar to this part of the world. Besides the rivers above enumerated, the whole slip of land stretching along the sea-coast between the entrance of False Bay and the Great Fish River, is intersected by streamlets whose waters are neither absorbed nor evaporated; but they generally run in such deep chasms as to be of little use towards the promotion of agriculture by the aid of irrigation.”\*

From False Bay to the mouth of the Breede or Braad River, which discharges itself into St. Sebastian's Bay, no harbour of any kind exists. The mouth of this river, now called Port Beaufort, (though, like every other river on this coast, it is crossed by a bar of sand,) allows vessels of 200 tons to enter and discharge or load in safety; and it may be navigated by small craft for about 30 miles up the country. Port Beaufort has become a regular place of export for the produce of Zwelendani.

The Gauritz, the next great river on the coast, is a collection of waters from the Great Karroo, the Black Mountains, and the maritime chain. “The branches to the north of this chain, are periodical; but it flows to the southward throughout the year, though, in the summer months, with a very weak current;” and the bar at its mouth is then generally dry. In the rainy season, it is considered as the most rapid and dangerous river in the colony.†

The Knysna is described by Mr. Barrow as a lake

\* Barrow, vol. ii. p. 22.

† Barrow, vol. ii. p. 26.

which has opened itself a channel to the sea ; and the tide now sets in through a narrow passage, as into a dock. " This passage, though narrow, and not quite clear of rocks, appears to be capable of admitting small vessels ; and within, there is plenty of deep water, stretching out into a basin of several miles in width. The surrounding hills are clumped with forest-trees, and their sloping sides are clothed with shrubbery down to the water's edge. The lake is studded with a number of flat islands, covered with verdure. The arms of the Knysna stretch into the deep valleys at the feet of the mountains, and are there lost in impenetrable forests. The whole country is boldly marked and most magnificently clothed, and may be considered, beyond comparison, as the grandest and most beautiful part of southern Africa." Mr. Thompson states, that there are 18 feet water on the bar at ebb-tide, and the harbour is safe from all winds.\*

The Keurboom River, like the Knysna, runs up into the midst of tall forests, and might be navigated by boats to a considerable distance ; but its mouth is completely blocked up by the almost perpetual swell of the sea. Plettenberg's Bay, into which it discharges itself, affords good anchorage ; but, like Mossel Bay and Algoa Bay, it is exposed to the south-east winds.

The Camtoos River is a collection of waters from the more eastern parts of the same country that supplies the Gauritz. Just within the bar, there is a wide basin, deep enough to float a ship of the line ; but the bar itself is fordable upon the beach at high water, and is frequently dry at ebb-tide. It falls into a wide bay of the same name, called also, the Bay of St. Francis and Content Bay. Within this bay, the only secure anchorage, according to Mr. Barrow, is opposite

\*Barrow, vol. i. p. 300. Thompson, vol. ii. p. 323.

the mouth of a small stream called the Kromme or Crooked River. The latter river, however, Mr. Thompson says, admits vessels of 200 tons; and this harbour, though hitherto little known and rarely visited, promises to become of first-rate importance; more especially if, in addition to the abundance of timber in its neighbourhood, in the Zitzikamma, it prove true, that coal is to be found on its banks.

The Zwart-kops River is a clear, permanent stream of water, flowing down one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the colony; and it is among the very few of those that, by damming, may be turned upon the contiguous grounds. It flows past Uitenhage, and falls into Algoa Bay. Vessels of nearly 200 tons have entered it; but its mouth is occasionally obstructed by a bar of sand. It is, however, capable of great improvement, and would, at no very enormous expense, become navigable for steam-vessels nearly to the drostdy. The tide flows eight miles up this river.\* The Zondag or Sunday River likewise falls into Algoa Bay, opposite the islands of St. Croix. It rises in the midst of the Snowy Mountains, and continues a permanently flowing stream, broad and shallow in the middle part of its course, and narrow and deep towards the mouth, which, likethe rest, is choked with sand.

Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, has become, as a mercantile port, Mr. Thompson says, next in importance to Table Bay, and is likely to prove the principal port of the eastern province. But, "although Algoa Bay has hitherto been considered as the port of the new settlement, its distance from the frontier renders it less eligible than Port Frances at the mouth of the Kowie River, which is the next port to the eastward, and

\* Barrow, vol. ii. p. 21. Thompson, vol. ii. p. 324.



which river flows through the heart of the district of Albany." A plan has been suggested by the late Commodore Nourse, for clearing the bar of this river, which, if put in execution, would render this harbour, already made a custom-house port, highly valuable. It is the last harbour on the eastern coast of the colony.\*

The Great Fish River takes its rise beyond the Snowy Mountains, and, in its long course, collects a multitude of streamlets, most of which are constantly supplied with water. "On each side of its mouth is a wild, rocky, and open shore; but the projecting cheeks form a small cove or creek, which, it seems, was frequented by the Portuguese shortly after their discovery of the Cape; though, from the boisterous appearance of the sea upon the bar, it is difficult to conceive how they dared to trust their ships in such an exposed situation; unless, indeed, they were so small as to be able, at high water, to cross the bar; in which case, they might be at all seasons in perfect security."† The bar has been crossed by a boat, but it is constantly shifting, and the offing is much more exposed than the mouth of the Kowie.

The northern regions without the colony are watered by two large rivers, the Lesser Fish River and the Gariep or Orange River. The latter, which falls into the Atlantic in lat.  $28^{\circ} 30'$ , is formed by two rivers, the Ky Gariep (Yellow River) and the Nu Gariep (Black River), which unite their waters in latitude  $29^{\circ} 4'$ ,

\* Thompson, vol. ii. pp. 324, 308. The Kowie River is not mentioned by Barrow, the imperfection of whose account of the coast, we have endeavoured to correct by aid of Mr. Thompson's valuable observations on the bays and harbours. The whole of the coast has been recently surveyed by Captain Owen, R.N., and a far more complete account, therefore, may be expected in his forthcoming publication.

† Barrow, vol. ii. p. 22.

upwards of 500 miles due E. from their mouth. The latter branch, flowing from the S.E., is called, higher up, the Cradock River, and receives the Sea-cow River and some other streams from the Sneuwbergen. The Muddy or Alexander River, flowing also from the S.E., falls into the Yellow River above its confluence with the Nu Gariep. The former river, the Ky Gariep, comes from the N.E., and is formed by the union of the Vaal River with the Hart stream or Malalareen. The Krooman River, which has its source to the E. of New Lattakoo, and is now lost in the desert, is said to have formerly reached, by a south-westerly course, the Great 'Gariep, in about longitude  $21^{\circ} 10'$ .\* The Little Fish River or Konup, which waters the Great Namaqua territory, also falls into the Gariep about 70 miles from its mouth.†

The whole of the territory comprised within the Dutch colony at the time that it came into the hands of the English, was divided into four districts, *viz.*, 1. Cape District; 2. Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; 3. Zwellendam; 4. Graaff Reynet.‡ In 1810, the extension of the colony, and the formation of new villages, had rendered it necessary, for the more convenient administration of the local jurisdiction, to divide the territory into eleven districts of very unequal extent. These consisted of the four original districts,

\* Mr. Campbell, in 1820, met with natives who remembered its flowing much further into the Desert.

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 341. The Konup is stated to be formed by many tributary streams which issue from the Copper Mountains; and its course, which is nearly S., has been traced about 300 miles N. from the point where it falls into the Orange, to the country of the Damaras. Mr. Burchell, however, places a "Fish River" (that of Le Vaillant) between the parallels of  $26^{\circ}$  and  $27^{\circ}$ , flowing westerly into the Atlantic.—Burchell, vol. i. p. 579.

‡ Barrow, vol. ii. p. 25.

each placed under the superintendence of a land-drost; the sub-drostdies of Caledon, Clanwilliam, Albany, and the Tarka; and the districts of George, Uitenhage, and the Tulbagh.\* To these has subsequently been added, the new district of Beaufort.† And the extension of the eastern frontier to the river Keiskamma, about 32 miles N.E. of the Great Fish River, has given occasion for the formation of a new district under the name of Fredericksburg. Other modifications and sub-divisions will hereafter become necessary, as the population of the colony advances. The Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the colony have offered a suggestion which has received his Majesty's approbation, as to dividing the whole into two provinces. According to this arrangement, the distribution of the districts will stand as under :—

#### WESTERN PROVINCE.

1. Cape District.
2. Stellenbosch.
3. Caledon.
4. Zwellendam.
5. Worcester (formerly Tulbagh).
6. Clanwilliam.

\* Burchell, vol. i. p. 75. "Each (of these districts) is placed under the superintendence of either a *land-drost* or a deputy *land-drost*, who administers the government, in most respects, as the representative of the governor; and it is through him that all laws, proclamations, and inferior regulations are carried into effect. Each district is subdivided into a number of *Veld-cornets*; in which it is the duty of the *Veld-cornet* (field-cornet) to put into execution all orders from the *land-drost*, to whom he is more immediately accountable."

† "Beaufort was created a sub-drostdy only a few years ago; and the village which has arisen in consequence of the establishment of the provincial magistracy, contains about thirty houses. It is situated near the base of the Nieuwveld mountains, on the verge of the Karroo, and is watered principally by a fountain which forms one of the sources of the Gamka River."—Thompson, vol. i. p. 272.

## EASTERN PROVINCE.

1. Graaff Reynet.
2. Beaufort.
3. Somerset.
4. Albany.
5. Uitenhage.
6. George.
7. Fredericksburg.

The superficial extent of the two provinces, is nearly equal; but their physical character and productions are very dissimilar. Corn and wine are the chief produce of the western districts: the eastern are principally adapted for pasturage. It is proposed, that the capital of the Eastern Province shall be either Uitenhage or Graham's Town.\*

The population of the colony, which was estimated, in 1798, at nearly 62,000 souls, had risen in 1806, to 77,055; of which 26,768 were whites, 20,426 were Hottentots, and 29,861 slaves.† In 1808, it appears to have declined to 73,873; but in 1810, it had again risen to 80,443; and, in the following year, it is stated at 87,018 souls. In 1812, however, it had sunk to 81,964. Whether these fluctuations arose from the influx and reflux of emigration, or from any

\* Miss. Reg., 1823, p. 39. Caledon is not now a distinct district of the Westward Province: it was a sub-drostdy of Zwellendam. Fredericksburg is not yet recognised as a district. Uitenhage and George have been rejoined, as also Albany and Somerset.

† Thompson's Africa, vol. ii. p. 426. In Malte Brun, a different census has been followed, which states the numbers, in 1806, at only 75,145 souls; in 1810, at 81,122; in 1814, at 84,069; in 1819, at 99,026; in 1821, at 116,044; and in 1822, at 120,000; no notice being taken of the intermediate fluctuations. In the latter estimate, 115,000 is taken as the fixed population, and 5000 are added for sojourners, troops, crews of ships, and Hottentots. Of the fixed population, 47,978 were free; 28,835 Hottentots; and 33,557 slaves. —Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 361.



difference in the way of obtaining the census, we are unable to state. From the last date, the increase appears to have been constantly progressive, the numbers having risen in 1814, to 84,657; in 1816, to 88,486; in 1817, to 97,535; in 1819, to 101,657; in 1822, to 111,451; in 1823, to 116,205;\* and in 1827, to 120,036, *viz.*†

	Free.	Slaves.	Total.
Western Province .	45,014	28,934	73,948
Eastern Province .	39,513	6,575	46,088
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	84,527	35,509	120,036
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Owing to immigration, the population of the eastern division increases much faster than that of the western, though even this appears to have doubled its population in twenty-four years. There is now, therefore, an individual to every square mile, or forty persons to every farm; the total number of farms in the colony being, in 1822, about 3000, though very unequal in point of extent.

The Cape District is at once the smallest and most populous, containing, on a surface of about 2240 square miles, a population of 7462 souls, exclusive of the capital.‡ It consists of two parts; the peninsula on which the town is built, and the slip of land extending from the shore of Table Bay to the mouth of Berg River, and separated from Stellenbosch and Drakenstein by the Little Salt River, Deep River, and Mossel

\* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 426.

† Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 39.

‡ According to the census of 1823: *viz.*, 2891 whites, 960 Hottentots, and 3611 slaves.—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 424. The numbers have since then probably increased, and with the population of the capital, cannot be under 28,000 souls, or three eighths of the population of the Western Province.

Bank River. This is about eighty miles from N. to S., and twenty-five from E. to W.; while the Cape Peninsula is about thirty miles in length, and eight in breadth.

The natural productions of the Cape Peninsula, in the vegetable kingdom, are more numerous, varied, and elegant than, perhaps, any spot of equal extent in the world. It is from this part that we have received the most magnificent plants that adorn our gardens or green-houses, while many others, of not inferior beauty, remain strangers to Europe. The bulbous class of plants are particularly numerous in the Cape, and no where exhibit so many beautiful varieties. The tribes of *ixia*, *iris*, *antholiza*, *gladiolus*, *amaryllis*, and *geranium*, are singularly numerous and elegant. The frutescent or shrubby plants that grow in wild luxuriance, some on the hills, others in the deep chasms of the mountains, and others on the sandy isthmus, furnish an endless variety for the labours of the botanist. The silver-leaved *protea* imparts to the groves of the Cape, a "metallic splendour," finely relieved by the deep foliage of the oak and the still deeper hue of the stone pine; while one of the numerous species of heath (*erica tomentosa*) gives the appearance of a carpet of hair. The Cape olive-tree and the *sophora*, a tree like the ash, furnish some wood for joinery; but there is a deficiency of building timber and fire-wood, although forests of magnificent oaks are said to exist to the east of False Bay, in that part called Hottentot Holland. Generally speaking, however, the vegetation of this part of Africa does not satisfy the eye of a European. "The fields," we are told, "are separated by deserts; the green turf, scattered and thin, nowhere presents a close bed of

verdure ; the forests, filled with pointed trees, afford neither a delicious coolness nor a solemn darkness. Nature is here more imposing than beautiful ; and, as if to divide her favours, while lavishing brilliance of colour and elegance of structure on the Flora of the Cape, is said to have withheld that sweetness which fills the gardens of Europe with fragrance. Hence, it is a common saying, that, in South Africa, flowers have no smell, birds no song, rivers no fish." \* This is, nevertheless, far from being universally true. The sides of the hills, Mr. Barrow says, are finely scented with the family of geraniums ; the beautiful species of *gladiolus* called *Africaner*, has a fragrant smell ; and the *avond-bloem* or evening flower (*ixia hesperanthera*), which remains closed up in its brown calyx all day, expands at sunset its small white blossoms, and perfumes the night air with its fragrance.

Culture has introduced many European plants. The Madeira vine here produces an excellent wine. The plants of the Muscadel vine brought from the South of France, thrive well, and the Cape Frontignac and Lavelle are nearly equal in flavour to the original wines. The famous Constantia, which is produced from plants originally brought from Shiraz, possesses a peculiar flavour not to be found in any of the French wines. " The Pontac of Constantia," says M. Malte Brun, " is pure ambrosia, far superior to French Pontac, which our connoisseurs nevertheless admire. If the inhabitants of the Cape better understood their interest, and would abandon their beaten tracks, they

\* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 348. The latter part of the remark, it is added, is not quite correct, but it explains why two rivers have been distinguished by the name of Fish River.

would much raise the high character of their wines ; and this colony might become the great vineyard of England." \*

The fruits of Northern Europe, such as cherries and apples, have somewhat degenerated here ; but the figs, apricots, almonds, and oranges are as delicious as those of France. Wheat, barley, and oats are cultivated with success ; but rice does not grow. Flax yields two crops in the year, and hemp is abundant ;

\* " The Constantia wine, already so exquisite, does not seem susceptible of much improvement ; but the other varieties, sold in England to the amount of 5000 pipes *per annum*, under the appellations of Cape wine and Cape Madeira, have an earthy taste, a dilute taste of Muscadel, and, in most instances, an undisguised taste of brandy. The first fault is said to be derived from the argillaceous soil on which the vine-stocks grow, and with which the grapes may occasionally come in contact. It is never met with in wine produced from a soil of decomposed feldspar, and most probably is proportionate to the quantity of clay in the soil of the vineyard. But the sole cause of this and the other vices being found so generally in these wines, is the avarice or mismanagement of the Cape merchants, who vainly endeavour to correct them by mingling up all sorts together with a large addition of their wretched brandy. So great has been the depreciation of these wines from this cause, combined with over-production, that the 6909 pipes of wine, which were the produce of the vintage of 1806, for exportation, were actually worth more than the 10,000 pipes of 1821. The whole colony is computed to grow 22,400,100 bearing vines, equivalent to 21,333 pipes, and to be easily capable of producing double this quantity. But, as the colony alone consumes above 6500 pipes annually, and the population has increased above one-half since 1806, the present dismay of wine-merchants and planters, from the low prices, must speedily be removed, by the rectifying influence of a demand increasing so much faster than the supply. That over-production is the chief cause of the present depression, is sufficiently demonstrated by Constantia wine having fallen nearly in the same ratio (from 200 to 150 rix-dollars the nineteen gallon cask) as the other and faulty wines of the Cape. Of these, there are no fewer than 150 varieties known, though all proceeding from no more than eleven different species of the vine."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 350.



but they have not yet been able to make either linen or cordage. The Dutch East India Company had latterly attempted the culture of tea, and had tolerably succeeded; but the English, it is said, destroyed all the shrubs, to prevent the commerce with China from being injured.\* “The tea of China, the coffee of Java, the cotton of India, the tobacco of America, together with a long list of the productions of the southern countries of Europe, might all, it is believed,” says Mr. Thompson, “be successfully cultivated in different parts of the Colony. But it is not from these sources that the early prosperity of the Colony must arise, any more than from the iron, the copper, and other minerals which it is known to possess.” Copper is known to exist in abundance in Little and Great Namaqualand,† and according to the reports of the Missionaries, native iron also in considerable blocks, as in Siberia and Senegal.‡ The mineral most likely to be first in request, is that well known to exist on the Van Staade’s River, between the Camtoos River and Algoa Bay,—a rich vein of silver and lead. It is currently reported, that coal has been found on the Kromme River, not far from Van Staade’s River; a discovery which, if verified, would be an invaluable

\* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 352.

† The Bamakwün and Morutzi countries, and the Koperbergen (copper mountains) in Little Namaqualand, are specified by Burchell (vol. ii. p. 568) as the only places in the extra-tropical part of South Africa, where copper has hitherto been found, although its existence in other parts is probable. The ore is manufactured by the Bichuanas.—Ib. vol. ii. pp. 439—532:

‡ Iron ore is found at Sensavan in the Transgariepine country, and forms an article of barter, being used as an unguent. At Litakun or Lattakoo, the Nuakketsi Bichuanas bring to market, iron ware of their own manufacture, consisting of knives, hassagays, and hatchets, together with iron and copper beads, and copper bracelets.—Burchell, vol. ii. pp. 257—439,

acquisition to Africa, as furnishing the means of smelting her ores and supplying her steamers.\* For some time to come, however, the staple commodities of South Africa will be the produce of the wine districts,† grain,‡ hides and skins, horses, argol, aloes, wool, and perhaps silk. The white mulberry attains here, Mr. Thompson says, to the highest degree of perfection; the climate is precisely suited to the worm, and a population well adapted for the tendance of these insects, is to be found in the Hottentots. The whale-fisheries on the coast, which have hitherto furnished an article of export, are on the decline; and unless conducted on some better principles, the trade is likely to become of little value to the colony.

We shall not further pursue in this place the statistics of the colony, but must now proceed with our topographical sketch, commencing, of course, with the seat of government.

#### CAPE TOWN.

CAPE TOWN, which may be considered as the capital of the colony, is situated on the south-east angle of Table Bay, on a plain sloping down from the Table

\* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 295.

† The principal wine districts lie in the Stellenbosch districts along the chain of Hottentot's Holland Mountains. The other parts that produce the Cape wines are, the skirts of Table Mountain, Constantia and its neighbourhood, Hout's Bay, and Tiger Berg. These latter places chiefly produce the favourite wines, such as Hock and sweet muscadels; while the more distant farms produce the Cape Madeira and Pontac.—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ The principal corn districts are the Blue Berg, Koëberg, Zwartland, and Twenty-four Rivers; all in the Cape district. But the greater part of Swellendam, George, and Uitenhage are equally capable of producing corn abundantly.—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 285.

Mountain. It stands in latitude  $33^{\circ} 55' 40''$  S., longitude  $18^{\circ} 23' 11''$  E. "It usually happens," remarks Mr. Barrow, "that the advantages of the bay, in forming a new settlement, determine the choice of the site for the town; but, in this instance, the convenience of a plentiful stream of pure, limpid water, rushing out of the Table Mountain, was the primary object to which the bay was subservient. Had this not been the case, the first settlers would unquestionably have given the preference to Saldanha Bay, whose only defect is the want of fresh water in the vicinity: whereas, Table Bay is faulty in every point that constitutes a proper place for the resort of shipping, and is so boisterous for four months in the year, as totally to exclude all ships from entering it."\*

In other respects, the situation of Cape Town is disadvantageous. The want of pasture in the neighbourhood is a serious inconvenience; and standing as it does at the extreme corner of the country, the roads into the interior being for many miles an incurably heavy sand, it is in as bad a situation as possible for inland traffic. Yet, in a country so destitute of navigable rivers, the capital could flourish no where but on the coast, and its situation is as central as a maritime position admits of. The safety of the harbour, too, Mr. Thompson says, has been much undervalued. Occasionally, during the months of June, July, and August, it is exposed to the N. W. monsoon; but the

\* Barrow, vol. ii. p. 224. "Saldanha Bay is one of the best bays, when once entered, on the African coast; but is nearly destitute of fresh water. Much has been said about bringing the Berg River into this bay; but I fear, if practicable, this is not a work for the present generation. Saldanha Bay being situated so far to the leeward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the S.E. monsoons, renders it far from being that desirable naval station so much recommended by some writers,"—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 314.

greater part of the accidents that occur, are attributable to either carelessness or ignorance.

The first view of Cape Town, backed by the immense precipice of Table Mountain, rising like a wall, is very imposing. On approaching the land from the S. W., a range of faint blue mountains is first descried, at the northern end of which, Table Mountain and Lion's Head are easily distinguished by the peculiarity of their form. During great part of the summer, when a S.E. wind prevails, a remarkable white cloud, called by sailors the Table Cloth, is generally seen resting upon the mountain with all the appearance of a ponderous substance.\* To a ship keeping the Lion's Head and the middle of the northern side of Table Mountain in a line at the distance of about two miles, the mountain exhibits the form of a lion couchant, its fore-paws forming the southern point of Camp's Bay, while the tail is represented by the flat land of Green Point. On rounding this point, the Jutty (or landing-place) and castle, first come in sight; and at length, after passing the Chavonne and Amsterdam batteries, the town itself, with its neat white buildings, spreading over the valley from the sea-shore to the mountains on either side.† The low tower of the Calvinist church, surmounted with a squat, pyramidal steeple, is the only prominent feature; but the whole effect is very cheerful and pleasing.

The best description of the town, as it appeared in 1810, is furnished by Mr. Burchell. It then contained more than twenty streets, all of which, intersecting at right angles, run either in a north-westerly

\* As long as this table-cloth is spread over the top of the mountain, it is difficult to enter the Bay, from the furious blasts that at such times pour down as from the clouds, and baffle the mariner.

† See Plate.



direction parallel to the strand, or south-westerly from the sea towards Table Mountain.\* “These streets,” continues the Traveller, “though not paved, are kept always in excellent order, and derive an agreeable freshness from trees of oak and pinaster planted here and there on either side. The houses are built of brick, and faced with a stucco of lime. They are decorated in front with cornices and many architectural ornaments, and frequently with figures both in high and low relief. In front of each house, is a paved platform, (called the *Stoep*, or step,) usually eight or ten feet wide, and commonly from two to four feet above the level of the street. It is ascended by steps, and has, generally, a seat at each end; and here the inhabitants frequently walk or sit to enjoy the air, or to converse with passing friends. The roofs are flat, having no greater inclination than is just sufficient to throw off the rain water, and form a very commodious terrace. On account of the mildness of the Cape winters, fire-places are no where seen, excepting in the kitchens. Within, the houses have, to an eye accustomed to the elegant decorations and furniture of an English apartment, the appearance of a want of comfort, and, not having a plastered ceiling, the bare joists and floor above give them the look of an unfinished building; but the loftiness and size of the rooms render them respectable, and contribute greatly

\* “Cape Town,” says Mr. Barrow, “is built with great regularity; the streets being all laid out with a line. It is the only assemblage of houses in the colony, that deserves the name of a town. It consists of 1145 dwelling-houses, inhabited by about 5,500 whites and people of colour, and 10,000 blacks. Many of the streets are open and airy; with canals of water running through them, walled in and planted on each side with oaks: others are narrow and ill-paved. Three or four squares give an openness to the town.”—Barrow, vol. ii. p. 26. This was in 1806.

to their coolness in summer. The houses, even of the poorer class of inhabitants, have, outwardly, a neat and architectural form. Carpets are seldom used; and the reason assigned for this is, that they afford in this, as in all warm climates, a harbour to insects.

“ It is remarkable, that one of the finest situations in the town is occupied by buildings of the most inferior description. The beach, with a full view of the bay and shipping, would seem to be a site worthy of some elegant houses [and of a handsome terrace; which, being the first objects to meet the eye of a stranger on entering the bay, would considerably strengthen the favourable impression of the respectability of the town.

“ There are two churches; one for the reformed or Calvinistic congregation, the established church of the Dutch Government, and which is also used by the English for the performance of their service; the other built by the Lutherans, the number of whom is very considerable. Besides these, there is a good-sized meeting-house, which is open to preachers of various denominations. The Malays have also a house dedicated to the Mohammedan form of worship, with a regular priest, established and supported by themselves: this latter building is nothing more than a private dwelling-house converted to that use. The government-house is situated in the town, surrounded with plantations, in a garden, consisting of several acres of ground, laid out in avenues crossing each other at right angles, and thickly shaded by oaks. This garden is an exceedingly pleasant promenade during the heat of the day, and is always open to the public. The *stad huis*, or burgher-senate-house, is a large, handsome building, appropriated to the transacting of

public business of a civic nature. It stands in the middle of the town, on one side of the square called *Groente Plein*, in which a daily market for vegetables is held. There is on the northern side of the town, another square, called *Boere Plein* (Farmer's Square), where the farmers used to assemble with their waggons, to dispose of their commodities; but, since my arrival in the colony, another boor-market has been established at the southern entrance to the town, and a market-house erected, at which every waggon, bringing a load of country produce, is obliged to halt, while proper officers take an account of every article they may have for sale; and, having ascertained the quantities of each, register them in books kept for that purpose. Here, they are generally met by purchasers; if not, they proceed into the town.

“The castle is a large, pentagonal fortress on the south-eastern or inland side of the town, close to the water's edge. It commands the jutty, or landing-place, and part of Table Bay, and completely controls the only road between the town and country. On the north-western side of the castle is the Parade, a large oblong plain, surrounded with a walk, shaded by pinasters and stone-pines, and enclosed by a wall and moat. Near the parade are the barracks for the cavalry, an extensive and ornamental building, begun in the year 1772, originally intended for a hospital; and between this and the castle is the custom-house, built in 1813. Close to the entrance to the government garden, is a large and handsome building, completed in 1815, which contains the Court of Justice, the Secretary's office, and most of the principal public offices. The theatre is situated in the *Boer Plein*; it was seldom used, as it depended chiefly on the performance of amateurs.

Cape Town possesses several other buildings appropriated to business of a public nature, such as may easily be supposed requisite for a large town and a considerable population.”\*

Among other edifices which have since been erected, are the commercial exchange (founded August 1819) and the butcher’s hall (1820), an English church, and an observatory. To the southward of the town, a great number of elegant villas are scattered about, between vineyards, groves, and plantations. The country, as far as Rondebosch, Wynberg, and Constantia, is “really delightful, and, more than any other part of the colony, resembles the rich, cultivated scenery of England.”†

■ The climate of the Cape is both pleasant and salubrious. The town is, indeed, subject to violent winds, and the dust of the streets is then extremely annoying. The winter and the spring are the most delightful part of the year. The thermometer then seldom sinks below 50° of Fahrenheit, although ice is sometimes found on the top of Table Mountain, and during a few days in the year, the summits of the Stellenbosch and Hottentot Holland Mountains are covered with snow. The highest degree which Mr. Burchell observed the thermometer to attain, in Cape Town, was 102° of Fahrenheit, in the shade. During the warm season, it generally ranges between 80° and 90°. The price of provisions is comparatively low. Labour, house-rent, and fire-wood constitute a large proportion of the expenses of living at Cape Town. Fruit, vegetables, and fish are abundant and cheap; but fresh-water fish are so rare as to be deemed almost a curiosity.

\* Burchell, vol. i. pp. 70—74.

† *Ib.* p. 74.



In the official census of 1824, the population of Cape Town stood as follows :\*

White Inhabitants.....	8,246
Free Blacks .....	1,870
Prize Apprentices .....	956
Hottentots .....	520
Slaves.....	7,076]
	<hr/> 18,668

In this census, the English settlers recently arrived, were not included ; and the entire population of the town, exclusive of the military, cannot be under 20,000 souls.

The Whites are of various European nations. The Dutch are still the most numerous, and fill many situations of importance. Justice was, till within the past year, administered according to the Dutch law, and causes were pleaded in that language in writing. The English are numerous, chiefly of the military and mercantile classes. Besides these, there are Germans, Swedes, and French, or their descendants born in the colony. The slaves are, for the most part, Malays or natives of Madagascar and the eastern coast. The Hottentots, preferring a country life, are generally averse from engaging in the service of masters residing in the towns.

The picture which Mr. Barrow drew, thirty years ago, of the state of society in Cape Town, and the colony generally, if not somewhat overcharged, is no longer a fair delineation of the Cape Dutch. "Of the habits and customs of the Cape Dutch, in Cape Town and its vicinity," says Mr. Thompson, "I need only say, that they are becoming every day more decidedly English. It will be a matter of regret, if they ever so

\* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 423.

entirely change as to lose some of their present characteristics. They are a frank and hospitable, and at the same time a prudent and thrifty race.”\* Other changes, however, have recently been made, and are in progress, which will, it is hoped, prove of a beneficial character. The old Dutch court of justice has been superseded by a court more on the English model; consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, with an attorney-general, &c. in place of the old fiscal. Landdrosts and heemraden have been supplanted by civil commissioners, resident magistrates, and justices of peace. A council has been appointed, to assist with their advice the governor; consisting of the chief justice, the government secretary, the military officer next in command to the governor for the time being, the accountant-general, and the chief commissioner of the eastern province. But the most important measure of all, is an order in council, just passed, placing the Hottentots and other free coloured population under the equal protection of the laws, and declaring them to be, as subjects of the British government, in every respect on the same footing as the white colonists, whether Dutch or English.

A minute topographical description of the extended and thinly peopled territory comprised within the Cape colony, would neither be interesting to the reader, nor practicable within our fast contracting limits.† A few particular places, however, seem to claim to be specifically described.

\* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 238. With regard to the back country boors, this Traveller says, the truth seems to lie between the very dark picture of their brutally rude and indolent habits drawn by Mr. Barrow, and the opposite representations of Dr. Lichtenstein, who has not always discovered a respect for truth or fairness.

† “ The only villages in the colony, in 1815, were those of Stel-

The Table Mountain is the chief feature of the country in the vicinity of the capital; and an excursion to its summit is one of the first rambles taken by an adventurous traveller. To the botanist and the geologist, it affords a rich source of gratification; and the prospect it commands, though somewhat too much of a bird's-eye view, is of vast extent: it has been calculated that the eye ranges over the ocean to the distance of 73 miles. The height of Table Mountain has been ascertained to be 3,582 feet above the ocean.\* The most beautiful ride within a short distance of the town, is to Wynberg; Constantia, also, has its attractions; and a Guide to the Cape would embrace a variety of pleasant rambles, of which we cannot attempt the detail.

About seventy-five miles from Cape Town, in the direction of S. E. by E. are the warm baths of Zwarteberg, "the *Baiæ* of the Cape." Unlike the watering-places of England, however, the site of these springs affords no attractions of amusement or society, and can barely accommodate its visitors with the necessary supplies. They are resorted to only by a few invalids, who have faith in their medicinal efficacy. The temperature of the springs is as high as 118°, and 112° in the bath. The water contains iron and sulphur, and has a slightly chalybeate taste. Throughout the whole distance from Cape Town, not a large tree is to be seen, except round the houses of the colonists.

lenbosch, founded in 1670; Graaffreynet, 1786; Swellendam, 1745; Tulbagh, 1804; Uitenhage, 1804; Paarl, Simon's Town, Zwartland, 1801; George, 1812; Caledon, 1810; Graham's-town, 1811; here enumerated in the order of their size. And the only churches, except those in Cape Town, were at Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Paarl, Zwartland, Graaffreynet, Tulbagh, and Caledon."—Burchell, vol. i. p. 76.

\* Burchell, vol. i. p. 43.

The Black Mountain itself, as it is appropriately named, is an assemblage of black, barren, rocky hillocks, rising one above the other in strange confusion, inhabited only by wolves, jackals, tigers, and serpents. It stretches about ten miles N. E. and S. W., and is perfectly barren.\*

To the N. of the Zwarteberg is the Gnadenthal or Bavian's Mountain, where the Moravian Missionaries have their chief settlement. This interesting establishment lies about 130 miles E. by N. of Cape Town. It was founded in the year 1737; but George Schmidt, the first missionary, was at length compelled to abandon his benevolent undertaking, and returned to Europe in 1744. In 1792, three Moravian Missionaries were sent out, with the permission of the Dutch East India Company, to renew the mission; and they fixed themselves at the same place, where, after a lapse of nearly fifty years, they still found some remains of the venerable Schmidt's garden and hut.† The place derived its original name, Bavian's Kloof (Baboon's Glen), from having formerly been the resort of a great number of baboons, who have now retired to more desolate parts of the mountain, seldom making their appearance, except in the fruit season. The name of Gnadenthal, or Grace Vale, was bestowed upon it by Governor Janssens. Its secluded situation in a pleasant valley, surrounded with bold and lofty mountains, well harmonizes with the quiet, neat, and orderly aspect of every thing in the village, and with the general

\* Burchell, vol. i. p. 95. Latrobe, p. 77. A further account of the waters is given by Sparman and Thunberg.

† A great pear-tree, planted by the venerable Missionary, served the brethren, in 1792, for both a church and a school, the people sitting under the shade of its wide-spread branches. It was still flourishing in 1816.—Latrobe, p. 62.



character of the Institution. At one end of a small green stands the church, built in 1797; a plain oblong white building, with a thatched roof. On one side, a shady grove of oaks, planted soon after the re-establishment of the mission, surrounds, and half conceals, the dwellings of the Missionaries, the water-mill, the blacksmith's shop, and other buildings; all the work of the Missionaries and their Hottentots, and substantially built in the Dutch style, neatly covered with thatch. Contiguous to the church is an excellent garden; beyond it a vineyard; and behind the latter, a large burying-ground, laid out in the regular style peculiar to the Moravians. A small rivulet, called Bavian's river, issuing from the kloof or glen, meanders through the village, and falls into the Zondereind. On each side of the valley the cottages are placed in rows; the rest are irregularly scattered. Each house has its garden, which becomes forfeited in case of any breach of good order or morality. The number of Hottentots belonging to the Institution in 1810, was about 1400 souls; but the number of actual residents varies according to the demand of the neighbouring farms for Hottentot labourers.\*

Bethelsdorp, the principal establishment of the London Missionary Society, is in the district of Uitenhage, 450 miles eastward of Cape Town, near Algoa Bay. Its situation is confessedly most ill-chosen, or rather, most disadvantageous; for Dr. Vanderkemp, the founder, had no election in the

\* Burchell, vol. i. pp. 103—115. Latrobe, pp. 59—69. The number of children now in the school, is 326; and the average daily attendance is 200. Since the commencement of the Mission, there have been baptized in Gnadenthal, 1285 adult Hottentots and 1144 children.—Miss. Reg., 1829, p. 22.

case.\* The first view is as unpleasing as the site is incorrigibly unfavourable. "Not a tree is to be seen, excepting two or three ragged *speckbooms* before the Mission-house, and scarcely a blade of grass. The hills inclosing the small kloof near the village, are completely barren, and their outlines tame and uninteresting. The small brook coming out of the kloof is quite insufficient for the purposes of irrigation or to supply water for a mill."† Every thing about it, however, is not as barren as the scenery; and though deficient in the picturesque, it has, since it was visited by the writer we have cited, considerably improved in more essential respects. The following description of its appearance in 1825, is given by a gentleman who unites to poetical genius, the heart of a patriot and a philanthropist.

"It is now about five years," says Mr. Pringle, "since I first visited Bethelsdorp, on arriving at Algoa Bay with my party of settlers in 1820. At that time, the outward appearance of the place was far from prepossessing. The country around is naturally bleak and barren, and the want of water for

\* Mr. Latrobe, through misinformation, states, that "Government most generously offered every facility, and gave Dr. Vanderkemp his choice of the best places in its territory;" that "he looked at some, and at length sat down in this most barren, desolate, unpromising desert." Dr. Philip remarks, that it is evident from the Doctor's own statements, that he saw the disadvantages of the site; that he accepted it merely as a temporary accommodation for himself and his people, till a more suitable place, which had been promised him by the Colonial Government, should be pointed out; and that he continued, till the latest period of his life, to urge upon the Colonial Government, but in vain, the fulfilment of its promise.—Philip, vol. i. p. 317. The reasons which have prevented its subsequent removal, are also given.

† Latrobe, p. 207.

irrigation had prevented the inhabitants from cultivating gardens or planting fruit-trees. The same circumstances, the want of personal and permanent interest in the soil, and, above all, the want of the feelings and habits which such circumstances promote, had prevented the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp from attaining that progress in the comforts and decorums of civilized life, which tend so much both to improve their own character, and to please and prepossess the passing traveller. These defects, which were indeed much more the misfortune than the fault of the Bethelsdorp Hottentots, have been, since that period, to a great degree remedied. Many of the Hottentot families have now substantial, clean, and commodious houses. Some have even reached a degree of comfort and convenience much beyond the average of the frontier boors. The kloof adjoining the scanty brook, has been cultivated to the utmost extent of its capabilities. The whole of the people, and even the majority of the children, are decently dressed in English manufactures. The sheep-skin caross and its squalid accompaniments have disappeared. Many of the people have waggons and oxen, and earn much money by carrying goods to Graham's Town, &c. There are good masons, carpenters, smiths, and other tradesmen among them, who execute the greater part of the work in the rising village of Port Elizabeth, as well as the various improvements in progress at Bethelsdorp. The entire aspect of the place and its inhabitants, has strikingly improved since I first visited it: there is an air of activity and intelligence about the people, which I did not then perceive; and I have no doubt that they are rising, and that rapidly, in the scale of society.

“ So much for externals. In regard to the progress

of piety and morals, it is more difficult for me to speak with precision, as the evidences on these points require a more close and cautious investigation than I can profess to have given ; but I have little doubt, from all I could observe during my visit, and from my subsequent inquiries in the vicinity, that much has been done, and is now doing, in these most important matters. There is every appearance of seriousness and sincerity among the mass of the people in their religious assemblies. There is no drunkenness, and, so far as I can ascertain, few gross breaches of morality at Bethelsdorp ; though it is true, that the Hottentots residing in the neighbouring villages of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth are exceedingly corrupted. At Graham's Town, I hear, they are in a still more deplorable condition.

“ But what pleased me more than any thing else on this visit, was the appearance of the schools both for children and adults. The Sunday-school for adults is efficient and interesting in a very high degree. The unaffected earnestness and ardour evinced by the whole adult population to learn to read their bibles, was far beyond any thing I could have anticipated ; and is, I believe, quite unprecedented in any other institution except Theopolis. The Hottentots at these Sunday-schools have forgotten altogether their constitutional apathy, and appear to have at once acquired the earnestness and vivacity of the natives of southern Europe.

“ In regard to the other improvements of the place, it is unnecessary for me to speak, as they must be all well known, to you. The excellent alms-house, the tanks, the smiths' shops, the store, and missionaries' houses, are all great and obvious improvements since my former visit,



“I am glad to find my own sentiments respecting Bethelsdorp corroborated by so important a witness as Sir Richard Plasket. He visited Bethelsdorp about ten days before me, in company with the landdrost, Colonel Cuyler, and expressed himself, as I was informed, highly pleased with the appearance and good order of the institution ; adding, that ‘ it was evident, that if any thing had been done for the Hottentot race, it had been done by the missionaries.’ Even Colonel Cuyler bore a reluctant testimony to the improvements at Bethelsdorp, which he had not visited for two years preceding.” \*

Of the other missionary stations, we can give but a brief enumeration. About forty miles N. of Cape Town is the Moravian settlement of Groene-kloof, formed in 1808, at the suggestion of the Earl of Caledon, then Governor of the Cape. In 1815, the number of inhabitants, old and young, amounted to 300.\* At Enon, on the Witte River, near Algoa Bay, the United Brethren have another settlement, founded in 1818, which appears to be less favourably situated as regards the climate and the occasional want of water. The number of inhabitants in 1827, amounted to four hundred and sixty-three, besides forty upon trial. At Hemel en Aarde, about twelve miles from Caledon, is an hospital for the relief of lepers, in connexion with a

\* Philip’s Researches, vol. i. pp. 227—229. See also Thompson’s Travels, vol. i. p. 23. “ The meritorious exertions of the Moravians are well known,” remarks Mr. Pringle, in the notes to his Poems; “ but it is at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis in particular (institutions of the London Missionary Society), that the Hottentot race have, during the last few years, made the most surprising advances; and this, too, while these missions were exposed to the incessant persecution, not merely of the provincial functionaries, but of the Colonial Government itself.”

† Latrobe, p. 43.

Moravian station. And at Elim, near Cape Aiguilla, ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  hours ride from Hemel en Aarde, and between 10 and 11 hours from Gnadenthal,) in a pastoral district, the Brethren have a fifth settlement. They have also recently formed a little colony on the Klipp-lantz river, in the Tambookie country, under the immediate protection of the Colonial Government, who have granted 200*l.* in aid of the design.\* The Tambookies are a division of the Caffre nation, having the same language, and nearly the same customs. They inhabit an extensive and fertile tract of country bordering on the district of Somerset. Having suffered greatly from the inroads of the Mantatees, they applied to the British Government for protection. As this could not be afforded beyond the boundaries of the colony, they were invited to remove within the colonial territory; but they were not willing to leave their fine country a prey to others; and their chief, Powana, applied to the Government to use its influence in establishing a Missionary Institution among his people.

The London Missionary Society have stations (besides Bethelsdorp) at Bosjesveld, 40 miles N. of Cape Town; Paarl in Stellenbosch, about 35 miles N. E. of Cape Town; Tulbagh, in the same district, 75 miles N. E. of Cape Town; Caledon, 120 miles E. of Cape Town; Pacaltsdorp, in the district of George, 245 miles E. of Cape Town, and two from the sea; Hankey, recently founded in a very beautiful situation, near the Chamtoos River, between Pacaltsdorp and Bethelsdorp; Theopolis, in Albany, about 60 miles N.E. of Bethelsdorp; Graham's Town,

\* Miss. Reg., 1828, pp. 31; 375—382. 1829, p. 31.

in Albany ; Tzatzoe's Kraal, near the Buffalo River, in the Caffer country ; Griqua-Town, 530 miles N.E. of Cape Town, and 27 miles N. of the Orange River, in the midst of the Griquas, Bosjesmans, and Corannas ; Campbell, 30 miles E. of Griqua-town ; Philipopolis, on the north side of the Cradock River, among the wild Bosjesmans ; New Lattakoo, in the country of the Matchappes, about 970 miles N.E. of Cape Town ; and Steinkopff in Namaqualand.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society have Missionaries at Cape Town ; Graham's Town ;\* Somerset ; Wesleyville, 12 miles from the mouth of the Kalumna ; Mount Coke, 15 miles from Wesleyville, on a rivulet which flows into Buffalo river ; Butterworth, in the territory of Hintza, the most powerful of the Caffre chiefs, 110 miles from Wesleyville ; Platberg, in the Botsuana country, near the Maquasse mountains, north of the Yellow River ; and Lily Fountain, near the Khamiesberg, in Little Namaqualand.

The Colonial Government and Glasgow Missionary Society have a Missionary stationed at Chumie, the largest settlement in Caffraria, containing about 300 inhabitants in 100 huts ; and at Lovedale, a settlement 12 miles from Chumie, in a populous vicinity.†

There still remains undescribed, a vast region of Southern Africa north of the British colony, comprising the Portuguese possessions on both coasts, respecting which the state of our knowledge is at pre-

\* In the Cape Town and Graham's Town circuits, the labours of the Wesleyan preachers are almost exclusively among the old colonists or English settlers. This is the case, also, in great measure, with their eight or nine stations in Albany district.

† These details are taken chiefly from the Miss. Reg. 1829, pp. 20—35, ;

sent very imperfect ; and we find ourselves compelled to relinquish the task of attempting an abstract or analysis of the crude materials furnished by the older travellers, who are our chief authorities.\* The expedition under Captain Tuckey to explore the river Zaire, has added something to our geographical information ; but the country through which this great river descends, was not found very interesting, as far as the expedition proceeded, as to either its general appearance, its natural products, or the condition of its inhabitants. The state of society among the tribes of Congo, appears to be pretty nearly the same as that of the other negro nations ; but, in their moral and physical character, they seem to occupy the lowest degree in even the scale of African attainments. They are, however, represented as lively, good-humoured, hospitable, and more honest than could be expected. The language of Congo extends quite across the continent, and many of its words are found to correspond, not only to the language of Mozambique, but also to that of the Caffres.†

No part of the African continent has hitherto excited less interest in Europe, than the Eastern coast ; owing, in part, to the jealousy with which the Portuguese have guarded its approach, and withheld all information respecting it. Mr. Salt, who visited

\* In the sixteenth volume of Pinkerton's *Voyages* will be found, an Account of a Voyage to Congo by Fathers Angelo and de Carli : Merolla's Voyage to Congo : the Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell, sometime prisoner at Angola : Abbé Proyart's History of Loanga, Kakongo, &c. and Dos Santos's History of Eastern Ethiopia. To these authorities are to be added, De Grandpré's Voyage à la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique. Cavazzi and Labat, *Relation Historique*, &c. Zucchelli, *Voyage and Mission*. Lopez, *Relazione di Congo*. Oldendorp, *Histoire de la Mission*. And other authorities, of which M. Malte Brun has made learned and diligent use,

† Tuckey, pp. 351, 369—385.



Mozambique in 1809, has furnished the only recent description of that part of Africa. This settlement then retained few traces of its ancient strength or importance. The fort was garrisoned by a few sentries and some confined felons; and the whole population consisted of about 500 Portuguese, 800 natives of Arabian extraction, and 1500 negroes. The gold and ivory, which, with slaves, formed the exports, are chiefly brought from the mountainous tract near the head of the Zambezi; and the preservation of the settlements on that river, has always been the main object of Portuguese policy. At its mouth, about three days' sail to the south of Mozambique, is the port of Quilimane, where there is a depôt for merchandize. About 247 miles above Quilimane, lies Sena, the head town of the settlement or captaincy. Of this settlement, we are enabled to give a statistical sketch, drawn from a MS. memoir by Governor Teraos, a young man of much promise, who was stabbed in 1810 by one of his own officers.

The Captaincy of the River Sena extends along the coast between the parallels of  $15^{\circ}$  and  $20^{\circ}$  S., and the meridians of  $27^{\circ}$  and  $37^{\circ}$  E. Its extent, E. and W., is about 120 leagues, from the sea to the vicinity of Chicova; its mean breadth about 30 leagues; forming a territorial surface of 3600 square leagues. It is bounded eastward by the sea; on the S. by the mountains of Sofala; its boundary passing through the kingdoms of Quiteve and Baroe; and afterwards skirting the empire of Monopota to the vicinity of Chicova, on the west; while the river Zambezi and the Lupata chain form the boundary on the north, separating the captaincy from the territory of the Maravi Caffres. The European and mulatto population, in 1806, scarcely exceeded 500 souls, of

whom the adults between 15 and 60, formed 194. This included all the capitated inhabitants of both sexes in the three towns of Quillimane, Sena, and Tata, and the ports of Zumbo and Manica.\* The births amounted, in that year, to 36 ; the deaths to 32 ; and the marriages to 6. "When, in a country naturally so fertile, lands that might support a numerous population, scarcely furnish the means of subsistence to the scattered inhabitants, the causes of such a state of things," remarks this intelligent young governor, "can be found only in a faulty legislation." The causes of this depopulation and depression of agriculture, he states to be: 1. The want of security in the right of proprietorship, inasmuch as the tenants of the crown lands hold them for three lives ; by which regulation they are very liable to incur forfeiture, and lose their estates. 2. The enormous quantity of land comprised in each estate, which it is impossible for a single individual to bring into cultivation. 3. The great abuse of permitting numerous families of Goa and Mozambique to hold estates in this captaincy, who receive the rents, without rendering back any thing ; while the under-renters content themselves with procuring the mere means of subsistence, besides ill using both the colonists and the slaves. 4. The immoral deportment, violence, and oppression of the Dominican friars, who are the curates of the parishes of the captaincy ; and especially the obstacles which they oppose to matrimony, even among the poor, for the sole purpose of extorting money in all ways, and by means the

\* Manica is the great gold-mart, twenty days inland, where an annual market is held, at which gold and ivory are bartered for Surat cloths, coarse silks, and iron. Tête or Tata is a settlement about sixty leagues above Sena ; and Zumbo is beyond Tata, and can be reached only by a difficult and circuitous route.

most indecent and violent; whence flow debauchery and immorality, alike unfavourable to the advance of the population or the prosperity of the colony. The slaves of the colony nominally amounted to 21,827; but of these, a small proportion were employed in useful labour, the greater part living in absolute idleness, and about half were runaways.

Such is the picture drawn, in an official document,\* of the colonial system of Portugal, civil and ecclesiastical. No wonder that, under its withering influence, all the once splendid establishments reared by the lords of India and Guinea on the three coasts of Africa, and the shores of the Indian Ocean, should exhibit the mere wreck and shadow of their former pride and power.

The physical capabilities of this colony would appear to be very great. Among the productions and exports are enumerated, gold, ivory, slaves, copper, iron, rice, wheat, millet, oil, tobacco, teeth of the hippopotamus, rhinoceros' horns, wax, and amber. The rivers of Sena present greater facilities for internal navigation than any other part of Africa. The Zambezi might be rendered navigable, throughout the year, from Quilimane to the interior of Zumbo, a distance of 300 leagues, if two obstacles were removed: the first occurs about 30 leagues from its mouth, where the river divides into two branches, and is incumbered with sand-banks, which obstruction might be obviated by a canal of half a league in length; the other is a cataract beyond the limits of the colony, at Cabracas between Chicova and Tata.

The jurisdiction of the Portuguese now extends

\* We are indebted, for the use of this interesting document, to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Philip; whose friend, Captain Owen, translated it from the original Portuguese.

from Cape Delgado on the N. to Cape Corrientes on the S. Of this whole line of coast, from the Cape of Good Hope northward, a survey has recently been executed by command of the Lords of the Admiralty ; as well as of the whole western coast. Captain Owen, the intelligent and meritorious officer to whom the survey was entrusted, is understood to have collected a mass of most interesting information relative to these almost unknown regions, which will shortly be laid before the public.\*

But to complete the description of Africa is impossible. Wide spaces of *terra incognita* still remain upon its map, to excite and baffle curiosity. Tribes unknown wander over its interior recesses ; and the shy unicorn, whose existence has been so long regarded as fabulous, may yet be discovered in the central steppes of the unexplored continent. All that we have attempted, has been, to exhibit the actual state of our knowledge with regard to regions which have in every age been the subject of intense curiosity, and which still remain less known than the countries of the New World. The fabled Sphinx is the appropriate symbol of Africa.

\* Captain Owen's survey occupied four years and a half, and upwards of thirty officers lost their lives upon the service, owing chiefly, it may be supposed, to the extreme insalubrity of the climate.

THE END.



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